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SEPARATUM

**HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN BURMA
A.D. 1000 - 1300**

by

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in 1956 - Revised and Enlarged]

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

1. Consonants

ka	ca	ta	ta	pa	ya	sa
kha	cha	tha	tha	pha	ra	ha
ga	ja	da	da	ba	la	ma
gha	jha	dha	dha	bha	la	a
na	na	na	na	ma	wa	

For various forms of sa : sa, sa, sa, sa, sa

2. Vowels

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū
o	ō	e	ai	o	ō

3. Combinations

ai	au	ya	ra	wa	ha	ui
k	ā	c	t	p	ñ	

4. Numerals

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

4. Other signs (frequently used for land measure)

khwai	
cit	
carwat	
hu or phu	
prañ	
lamay	

1. See also JBRs, IV, ii, 136; JBRs, VI, ii, pp. 81-90 and Ep. Birm, I, i, pp. 6-12

INTRODUCTION

ATTEMPTS had been made to check Burmese history by means of inscriptions as early as the eighteenth century. U Kala when compiling the *Great Chronicle* soon after the accession of King Taninganwe (1714-33) was the first to use them and Twinthin Mahasithu followed suit. Twinthin produced the *New Chronicle* in the late 18th century. In 1829, a committee of scholars compiled the *Glass Palace Chronicle* and thirteen inscriptions are mentioned in connection with our period. Their use of epigraphic evidence, however, was so meagre that it was almost negligible. When *Silavamsa* wrote the *Celebrated Chronicle* in 1520, he had only a few sentences on the Pagan dynasty but U Kala wrote nearly two hundred pages on it and the *Glass Palace Chronicle* was almost a copy of U Kala's chronicle. Of course they used local legends known as "thamaing" and many stories from *Jataka* to enlarge *Silavamsa's* account on Pagan. Naturally these incorporated stories have little or no value as history. Perhaps, the reason for such incorporation was the desire to describe a given episode with a similar and better known story from the *Jataka* or the misinterpretation of the old records. For example, when a son of a junior queen was given the throne superseding the sons of senior queens, part of the Ramayana where Dasaratha appointed a junior son as heir to the throne was retold *mutatis mutandis*. When they misread or misinterpreted old records, they invented new stories to explain them. The name of a king Thaktawshe - Long Life - was misread Chaktawshe - Long Navel Cord - and as a result the story that the king when young cried incessantly so as to cause inflammation of the navel cord and thus acquired the nickname of Long Navel Cord. As all interpreters could not agree on all points of these stories, there were many stories with various versions so that as the popular saying goes, it becomes expedient to have a big stick near at hand when discussing Pagan history; serious disputes and quarrels are bound to arise which often end in fights. Thus a new approach to medieval Burmese history is a long felt need.

The tendency of a modern scholar is to base everything on epigraphic evidence and to reconstruct the history of Burma 1044-1287 entirely on the strength of this evidence and in the course of this endeavour, to ignore, refute or support the time cherished stories told by the chroniclers wherever and whenever necessary. The wisdom of entirely relying on epigraphy might be challenged as epigraphs deal largely with religious matters and they only contain chance references to political, social and economic sides of life in those days. One should remember, however, that these stray references are contemporary and therefore much more reliable than the stories that come down to us through the ages by word of mouth until they were committed to writing in comparatively recent times. Thus there is the need of writing the history of medieval Burma in the light of epigraphic evidence.

The purpose of this thesis is to fulfil, in a small way, part of that task. The first three chapters deal with the political history where an entirely new picture of the Pagan monarchy is given. Early in his reign King *Aniruddha* conquered lower Burma and opened his country to a direct contact by sea with India. Mon culture was copied more or less slavishly at Pagan. Politically Mons lost their independence but culturally they were masters at Pagan. Their language was the official language at the Burmese court. Burmians must have been

Buddhists long before *Aniruddha's* conquest of the delta but this conquest resulted in the import of Buddhism as practised in lower Burma. It is, however, very important to bear in mind that Buddhism thus imported was not exactly the *Theravāda* Buddhism as popularly alleged. It was far from pure. As Buddhism has nothing comparable with Brahmanical rituals for such occasions as coronation, palace construction, etc. Burmans felt it necessary to adopt some Brahmanical rites through the Mon. Their monks tolerated this adoption. There is no truth in the story that the Order was all for orthodoxy and the king helped them by suppressing the heretics called Ari. As a matter of fact, the Ari sect appeared only in the latter half of the Pagan dynasty and it was never officially suppressed. To counteract their growing popularity, the orthodox monks allied themselves with the Sinhalese Order and strove to purify the Religion on Sinhalese lines which had naturally a very slow progress at first so that they achieved success only towards the end of the 15th century. The Ari sect was not as debased as described in the chronicles and it had nothing to do with the Tantric Buddhism. Perhaps, it is to offset the purity of orthodoxy that the Ari were depicted as black as black can be. Early in the reign of *Kyanzittha*, the Mon made a futile attempt to regain independence. The wise king probably offered a compromise by marrying his daughter to a scion of the fallen Mon royal family promising to make an heir of the off-spring of that union. Somehow or other the rebellion was suppressed. After *Kyanzittha*, Mon influence waned. It was partly due to the Sinhalese invasion of 1165. There was an interregnum of nine years (1165-74). Since *Kyanzittha* usurpers were on the Pagan throne. So in 1174 the *Aniruddha* line was restored. A burmanization movement set in and by the reign of *Caṅsū II* (*Narapatiṣiṭhu*, 1174-1211) Burmese became the official language of the country. Architectural style also changed. Pagodas of the early half of the dynasty mostly have cave-like hollows, dark and gloomy. Burmans put up wide windows, tall doors and shortened the passage leading to the interior so that the buildings had better light and sanitation. The Pagan Empire was at its zenith under *Caṅsū II*. It extended from *Ngachaunggyan* (near Bhamo) in the north to *Tavoy* in the south or even as far south as *Cape Salang* for sometime and from the *Salween River* in the east to the *Chin Hills* in the west. It had a well organized form of government under five ministers who had to perform both civil and military duties. Customary Laws were codified under the name of *Dhammatthāt* and the criminal procedure was known as *Amunwancā*. It seems that the Mon of the south were quite contented under the Burmese rule at least until the time of *Tarukpli* (*Tayokpyemin*). The dangers of the empire usually came from the north and therefore the chief minister himself had to look after the northern frontier. *Caṅsū II* was succeeded by *Nāṭomyā* (*Nandaungmya*) who was definitely not the youngest son of the king as mentioned in the chronicles. *Narasīṅha-Uccanā* (*Narathinhka*) was the next king. He was placed by the chronicles about sixty years earlier than his actual reign as predecessor of *Caṅsū II*. After him, his brother *Klacwā* (*Kyaswa*) became king. He was not a weakling as suggested in the chronicles. He made a unique attempt to suppress crime in his realm by issuing an edict against thieves, and to increase his revenue he confiscated much of the religious lands in his country. His successor *Uccanā* (*Uzana*) was not his son but his nephew. *Uccanā* died at *Dala*; probably he was assassinated. His elder son and successor *Mañ Yan* (*Min Yin*) also met the same fate. *Tarukpli*, his half-brother finally became king. When the Mongols came, he took refuge in the hills west of *Prome*. *Syañ Disāprāmuk*, (*Shin Dithapamauk*) a reverend monk was sent on a peace mission to *Peking* in 1285. *Disāprāmuk* was able to persuade the Great Khan to withdraw the invading

INTRODUCTION

army and so the king returned to Pagan but was killed on the way. This is the political story of Burma during 1044-1287 told in the light of epigraphic evidence.

The Buddhism as practiced in those days was in general very similar to the one as practiced in Burma to-day with the exception that the Brahmanical influence was more felt than at the present day. When tracing the rise and development of the Buddhist monastic order various facts have been observed which upset some of the traditional beliefs of Burma. As mentioned above, the Ari sect appeared only in the latter half of the dynasty and it was not a very debased form of religion as alleged. Another point of great interest is the presence of *bhikkhuni* - female ascetics - in the Order in those days. Most Burman to-day maintain that women were not allowed in the Order since A.D.456. The thesis ends with the architectural and social aspects of the period under survey in chapters nine and ten which are also of much importance as they aid the better understanding of the Religion in those days.

HISTORY OF BURMA 1044-1174

PAGAN is the first of the Burmese capitals if we accept that *Sriksetra* belongs to the Pyu and *Santwāy Prañi* or Tagaung to the *Saw Kantū* (Thaks)² peoples. Therefore it is of great importance and interest, to trace the history of its existence. The city wall of Pagan is assumed to be the oldest extant monument of Pagan and C. Duroiselle dated it at A.D. 850. He said :

... the date of this wall is about 850 A.D., the year of the foundation of Pagan; it is still clearly visible, together with the moat, on three sides of the ancient city; the fourth side, which ran along the river bank, has disappeared owing to the encroachment of the river; on this side, a kind of bastion can be seen quite near to the Circuit House, and a few traces of the wall are seen here and there. Shin Mahākassapa, a celebrated *thera*, in the thirty stanzas concluding his *Sahassaranisi Tika*, a commentary on the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, which he wrote in 1174 A.D., gives a graphic description of Pagan; among other things he mentions that the walls had twelve gates, only one of these, the *Sarabha* gate is now extant.³

But in view of the fact that Burmans came into Burma in the 9th century A.D.⁴ it would be too early to place the foundation of Pagan at 850. Anyhow, some religious buildings were found to be in existence prior to A.D. 1044.

Many of the pagodas at Pagan are obviously post-*Aniruddha* but there certainly were monuments, etc. which had been in existence since the foundation of the city. Excavations at the Petlaik pagoda, which is generally attributed to *Aniruddha* revealed some mouldings of older structure beneath. In this respect, Sir John Marshall remarked:

This fact is of some interest, because it confirms a supposition already formed on other and stronger grounds that Buddhist buildings existed at Pagan before the reign of Anawrāta and that that monarch was responsible not for the introduction but for the development of that religion in Upper Burma.⁵

Pagan is said to have been quite ancient even before the advent of *Aniruddha*.

The statement that Pagan was standing two centuries before the appearance of *Aniruddha* depends entirely on the chronicles. No inscription in Burma has been found yet to tell of the foundation of Pagan. The *Hmannan Yazawin* states that King Pyinbya (A.D. 846-78) built Pagan in A.D. 849⁶ but King Thamoddarit settled as early as A.D. 107 at Yonhlukkyun⁷-

identified with a site, now covered with cultivation, to the south of Taywindaung hill and about twelve miles to the south east of Pagan⁸

1. All old Burmese words from the inscriptions are spelt in accordance with the rules of transliteration given in page ii

2. G.H. Luce: "The Peoples of Burma 12th, 13th Century A.D." *Census of India*, 1931 Vol. XI, i, App. F. pp. 296-306 and *JRS*, XLII, i, 52-74

3. Chas. Duroiselle: "The Nat Hlaung Kyaung, Pagan," *ASI*, 1912-13, p.136, n. 3

4. This is the theory held by Professor G.H. Luce.

5. J.H. Marshall: "Exploration and Research", *ASI*, 1906-7, pp. 38-9

6. *Hmannan* para 124, *GPC*, p. 55

7. *Ibid.* para. 112, *GPC*, p. 28

8. *ASB*, 1915, p. 12

He incorporated nineteen villages in the neighbourhood into his settlement. Unfortunately, except for the village of Ngaung-u we find no mention of the names of the other eighteen villages in the inscriptions. The 16th century *Celebrated Chronicle of Silavamsa* has a different story. According to him Burma was divided into two part, viz. (i) *Sunāparanta*¹ being lands north of the Irrawaddy and (ii) *Tambadi pa*, south of the Irrawaddy.² The Buddha in his life time visited *Sunāparanta* and stayed at a sandalwood monastery for seven days. During these seven days' sojourn he succeeded in converting 84,000 people. Henceforth Buddhism flourished in Burma. The city of *Srikssetra* was founded in 444 B.C. and it stood for six hundred years having twenty five kings. Then in A.D. 156, *Arimaddanā* (Pagan) was founded and it stood for one thousand one hundred and twenty eight years, i.e. until A.D. 1284 and it had fifty kings before the Chinese invasion and five kings after it.³ This story invites much criticism. The foundation of Pagan after the fall of *Srikssetra* in A.D. 156 is too early. The Great Shwezigon Inscription (A.D. 1186) mentions that *Srikssetra* was founded soon after the Lord's attainment of Nirvana and it stood until A.D. 656.⁴ Still, this date for the fall of *Srikssetra* and the rise of Pagan is early. According to the five-urn-inscriptions, a *Vikrama* dynasty was ruling at *Srikssetra* as late as A.D. 718 (if we assume that S.80 mentioned there is of the era that starts in A.D. 638). Three names, *Suriyavikrama*, *Harivikrama* and *Sihavikrama* are mentioned successively as if to denote that they were grandfather, father and son occupying the throne of *Srikssetra* in lineal descent. Unless they were local chiefs and just vassals of Pagan, as some might suggest, Pagan could not have been in existence in A.D. 718. Even as late as A.D. 801-2 a formal embassy to China via Nan-chao was sent by the Pyu king.⁶ Accordingly we may infer that whether the Pyu were by that time centred either at Hmawza or at Halingyi, they were still very important and had not been overshadowed by the Pagan kingdom. The Chinese references to the Pyu are largely about this embassy of A.D. 801-2. The Pyu capital is described in detail save one important point - that of its location. Probably this Pyu capital was not Hmawza but further north in the dry zone. This capital and kingdom was destroyed in A.D. 832 by "Man rebels" who could be Nan-chao people themselves or some tribe under Nan-chao. There were further raids by these people into lower Burma in A.D. 835. In a list of Pyu towns and settlements (given by the Chinese) in A.D. 802, Pagan is not mentioned.⁷ Therefore it is certain that Pagan was established sometime after the Nan-chao raids of A.D. 832-5. Thus, Pagan must have been founded after A.D. 832-5 but not as immediately as A.D. 849-50 nor as remote as the middle of the 11th century. It ought to be between the two. It is possible that Pagan was known to her eastern neighbours even in those far off days. A Chinese account (*Ch'ien Han Shu*) of the first century A.D. according to Gabriel Ferrand, mentioned a place called "Fu-kan-tu-lu" which he thinks is Pagan. He explains that "Fu-kan" is the phonetic equivalent of the "P'u-kan" in the later Chinese accounts like the *Ling wai tai ta*, the *Chu fan chih* and the *Sung shih*. But we must also bear in mind that

1. "Sunaparanta is probably identical with Aparanta; the Burmese, however identify it with the country on the right bank of the Irrawaddy River, near Pagan (*Sāsūravamsa*, introd. p. ix)" Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, (1938), p. 1211

2. This north and south division is due to the fact that the Irrawaddy river, though its general course is from north to south, flows from east to west in the middle of Burma. North of the Irrawaddy apparently means the right bank of the great river, whereas the south is the left bank.

3. *Silavamsa: Rajawān kyoan (Celebrated Chronicle)* pp. 75-87

4. "The Great Shwezigon Inscription": *Ep. Burm.* I, ii, 1. F18 (p. 125)

5. C. O. Blagden: "The 'P'u' Inscription", *J.B.R.S.* VII, ii, pp. 37-44

6. Tin and Luce: "Burma down to the fall of Pagan": *J.B.R.S.* XXIX, iii, pp. 264-82

7. *Ibid.* p. 272

the text¹ speaks of the kingdom of "Fu-kan-tu-lu" (not "Fu-kan") and that the kingdom was in contact by sea with China. On this point, Professor G. H. Luce says:

It would remove one of Ferrand's difficulties in this identification if for Fu-kan-tu-lu kingdom we read 'the kingdoms of Fu-kam and Tu-lu.' Indeed Shih-ku's gloss seems to indicate that he regarded them as two distinct places. On the other hand the theory has against it whatever weight we choose to attribute to the Burmese chronicles, which place the founding of Pagan, by King Pyinbya in 849 A.D.²

Two Cham inscriptions, which can be safely dated anterior to A.D.1050 mention "Pukam" slaves. The Po-Nagar Inscription³ says that slaves of such nationalities as Cham, Khmer, Chinese, "Pukam" and Siamese, totalling fifty-five were dedicated to the Goddess Kānyā. The first four lines of the Lomngoeu Inscription⁴ "refer to the donations made to a temple, viz., utensils and Chinese, Siamese and Paganese slaves."⁵ Border raids were frequent in those days and probably some Burmans were captured and taken away to Champa to become slaves there. This evidence tells us, at least, that even in times anterior to A.D. 1050, the name of Pagan was known to its eastern neighbours. But there are many names under which Pagan was known.

The variety of names for Pagan in the inscriptions give an interesting picture of Pagan and the lands immediately surrounding it. The classical name for Pagan is *Arimaddanapura* - The City of the Enemy Crusher, and early Mon and Burmese inscriptions frequently refer to the city by this name. It is also called by its native name which the Mon mentioned as *Pokām*⁶ or *Pukām*⁷ or *Bukām*.⁸ The Burmese way of spelling this name is either *Pukam* or *Pukam*. The earliest mention of the name was in A.D.1093 in connection with *Thiluin Mañ*.

He shall become King of the Law in the city of Pokām that is (otherwise) named Arimaddanapur ...⁹

Of the land that surrounds Pagan, the Mon gave it the name of *Tattadesa*¹⁰ - the Parched Land, which is the Dry Zone of Upper Burma or "at least the part thereof in which Pagan stands."¹¹ This name suggests that Pagan and its neighbourhood were, just as they are today, semi desert land of thorny scrubs. This rain shadow area in the middle of Burma cannot have been a wet forest land thick with undergrowth until the great temple builders appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries who completely deforested the area as their brick kilns demanded enormous supplies of firewood and turned it into a semi desert waste.¹² The monk *Disāpramuk* who led the peace mission to China from Pagan in A.D.1285 called his country *Tambadipa* - Land

1. *JBR*, XIV, ii, pp. 97-9, English translation of the text

2. G.H. Luce: "Fu-kan-tu-lu", *JBR*, XIV, ii, p. 94

3. Symonier: "Première étude sur les Inscriptions Tchames", *JA*, jan.-fév. 1891, pp.28-9, Finot: "Notes d'Épigraphie", *BEFEO*, III, p. 633

4. Finot: *Op. cit.*, p.634

5. R.C. Majumdar: *Champa* III, p. 209

6. *Ep.Birm.* I, ii, VI²⁵, tx.150, tr.151; VIII A², tx.156, tr.163, VIIIA¹⁰, tx.157, tr.164; VIII B¹⁴, tx.161, tr.167; VIII B²⁰, tx.162, tr.168

7. *Ibid.*, III, i, IX F¹⁵, tx.19, tr.51; IX G¹⁹, tx.22, tr.54

8. *Ibid.*, XI⁴, tx.71, tr.72

9. *Ibid.*, I, ii, VI²⁵, tx.150, tr.151

10. *Ibid.*, I, ii, I F¹⁶, tx.106, tr.125; I F²¹, tr.125; I F³⁴, tr.125-5; I G²⁵, tr.127; H², tr.128

11. *Ibid.*, I, ii, p.125, n. 7

12. G.E.Harvey: *History of Burma*, p.16. See J.C.Mackenzie: "Climate in Burmese History", *JBR*, III, pp. 40-6 and also *JBR*, XXX, i, pp.289-90 and pp. 307-8, n. 38

of Copper.¹ Pagan ultimately became the core of the Burmese empire.

In the time of its power and splendour during the reign of Caṅsu II (1174-1211) the empire was recorded to extend as far as the River Salween in the east, Mount Macchakiri (Chin Hills) in the west, Takon (Tagaung) and Na Chon Khyam (Ngasaunggyan) in the north and Salan Kre(?), Sacchitani(?), etc. in the south.³ Probably the outlying districts of the empire broke away as the central government lost grip for Disāprāmuk told the Taruk king (Kublai Khan) that his country Tambadipa, was small and therefore of little importance save that Buddhism flourished there.⁴ It is of importance to note that the Pagan expansion started only in the 11th century.

The empire grew in this way. At first local chiefs ruled the neighbouring villages of Pagan and were addressed as mañ (king).⁵ Kyanzittha before he became king of Pagan was mañ of Thiluin, a village in Wundwin township. From among these mañ, it seems that the mañ of Pagan rose to power and made all other mañ subject to his control. Thus he became mañkri - The Supreme King. After the subjugation of the immediate surroundings, it was but natural for the mañkri of Pagan to expand and acquire a nūṇṇam - the lands of conquest. The first mañkri who started the programme of expansion was Aniruddha. There are no inscriptions of Pagan dated anterior to Aniruddha and therefore it would not be far too wrong to begin the dynastic history with him.⁶

Aniruddha (?1044-?1077) although he was popularly known as Anawrathaminsaw gave his regnal title in pure Sanskrit form Mahārajā Sri Aniruddha-deva.⁷ Seals of Aniruddha on terra-cotta votive tablets found in a wide range of area throughout Burma give a rough idea of the extent of his power. Therefore it is of no mean importance, to go into a close study of these seals here.

A great number of seals were unearthed and very roughly they fall into two categories; (i) seals having Sanskrit inscriptions without mention of Aniruddha and (ii) seals bearing the name of Aniruddha. There is a strong suggestion that group one seals were imported from India and group two seals were made locally.⁸ Regarding this Dr. Sten Konow's views⁹ are worthy of note.

Some votive tablets with a bilingual inscription in Sanskrit and Pali were also brought to light. They are evidently imitations of similar tablets deposited in Buddhist temples in India, especially in Bodh Gayā. The Burmese tablets are casts from a mould and the Sanskrit legend, which states that the tablet has been prepared by King Aniruddha must have been incised on the mould. On the lower rim of

1. Pl. 271^{27, 30} (1285)

2. Narapatisithu of the chronicles.

3. Pl. 19a⁶⁻⁹ (1196). Salan Kre probably is Cape Salang or Junk Ceylon.

4. Pl. 271³⁰⁻³¹ (1285)

5. Pl. 143a¹⁶

6. The only king before Aniruddha mentioned in the stone inscriptions was Caw Rahan who probably is Taungthugyimin or Nyaungu Sawrahan of the Chronicles. He does not seem to have been a heretic, as he was labelled in the chronicles; he built a Sima on Mt. Turan. Pl. 36¹ (1212)

7. Pl. 568a¹⁻²

8. ASB, 1915, p. 16, para 43

9. L. Finot however refused to accept this view and explained the improbability of the moulds having been imported from India. Finot: "Un Nouveau Document sur le Bouddhisme Birman", JA, juillet-août, 1912, p. 130 n. 1.

the tablet a Pali legend to the same effect has been incised by hand. The whole arrangement leads us to infer that the moulds have been prepared, with the Sanskrit legend, in India and that the Pali inscription has been subsequently added because Sanskrit was not understood. The tablets cannot, at any rate, be used to prove that Sanskrit was the language of the Buddhist Church in Burma before Pali was introduced. It has been urged that the form of the name Aniruddha instead of the usual Pali Anuruddha points in that direction. But supposing that the mould for the tablets was executed in India, Aniruddha would be the only possible form and the king's name, Anawrata, which can only be derived from Anuruddha and not from Aniruddha, proves, if anything, that the knowledge of Pali had penetrated sufficiently to influence the coining of personal names.¹

The next point of discussion would be the description of these seals.

The seal has, generally a

Buddha seated cross-legged with the right hand in the bhūmispari-mudrā and the other lying in the laps, palm upwards, on a lotus-throne under a foliated arch supported on pillars and surmounted by a hti. Some leaves, picturing the Bo-tree, may be seen on each side on the crown of the arch beneath the hti; there are also, on each side of the Buddha, two stupas with an elongated ringed finial, ... which has become the distinctive finial of Burmese pagodas for well nigh a thousand years.²

Below this, is a Sanskrit (sometimes a mixed Pali and Sanskrit) inscription which runs :

Eso bhagavā mahārāja Sirī Aniruddhadevena kato vimuttatthamī sahatthe nevāti.

Desiring that he may be freed from Samsarā, the Great Prosperous King Aniruddha himself made this image of the Lord.

There are also some terra-cotta votive tablets with the seal of Aniruddha and a relief figure of the Buddha flanked on either side by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya.³ These seals, vary slightly in size and some details but all bear the name of Aniruddha. They are found in and around Pagan⁴ and in places as far north as Nwa-te-lè Ywa-haung (a mile from Nga-o on the Shweli) of Mongmit State⁵ and as far south as Twantè.⁶ They are also found at Tagaung,⁷ Meiktila,⁸ Minbu⁹ and Prome.¹⁰ A tablet found in the relic chamber of the Shwesandaw pagoda has an inscription in Pyu in addition to the name of Aniruddha and therefore it is thought that when Pagan power spread over Lower Burma, Aniruddha removed the relics from some old pagodas of Srikssetra to be reenshrined in his new pagodas. Anyhow, the wide extent of the find-

1. Sten Konow: "Epigraphy"; *ASI*, 1905-6, p. 170.

2. Chas. Duroiselle: "Excavations at Pagan", *ASI*, 1926-7, pp. 162-3.

3. Tablets found at Sameikshè, Meiktila; *ASI*, 1921-2, pp. 90-1.

4. *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 89; *ASB*, 1913, p. 16; *ASB*, 1922, p. 44; *ASI*, 1926-7, pp. 162-3, 169; *ASI*, 1928-9, p. 111; *ASI*, 1930-4, pp. 177, 178, 188; *ASB*, 1940-1, p. 32.

5. *ASB*, 1948, pp. 8-9.

6. *ASB*, 1915, pp. 14-7.

7. *ASB*, 1916, pp. 37-40; *ASI* 1927, pp. 62-3.

8. *ASB*, 1920, pp. 23-4; *ASB*, 1922, p. 10; *ASI*, 1936-7, p. 165.

9. *ASB*, 1905-6, p. 10; *ASB*, 1911, p. 27; *ASB*, 1912, p. 19; *ASB*, 1913, p. 16.

10. *ASI*, 1907-8, pp. 38-42; *ASI*, 1911-2, p. 144; *ASB*, 1912, p. 13; *ASB*, 1913, p. 16.

spots of these seals of *Aniruddha* strongly supports the fact that he was a king of great imperialistic designs and his power extended from places as far north as Mongmit to the mouth of the Irrawaddy. In an inscription dated A.D. 1207, he was mentioned as *Cakkrawati Anuradhā* - the Universal Monarch Anuruddha, which also shows that even in the esteem of the Burmans who lived in about a century after his death he was already a great conqueror. But his conquest of the delta is really a problem of much debate.²

We have the story of *Aniruddha's* conquest of Thaton in 1057 thus :

In 1601 A.B. and 419 S. (A.D. 1057), King *Anuruddha*, the Lord of *Arimaddanapura*, brought a community of priests together with the *Tipitaka* (from *Rāmaññadesa*) and established the Religion in *Arimaddanapurā*, otherwise called *Pugama*.³

So says the *Kalyāni* Inscription of *Rāmādhīpati* (Dhammazedi A.D. 1480). It also gives a hint that this was possible only because the Mon king *Makuta* (*Manohari* or *Manuhā*)⁴ was very weak at that time. Unfortunately, no contemporary record is found relating to this memorable episode. The motive of that conquest, the tradition says, was purely religious. But it is also possible that *Aniruddha* originally marched against some trading settlements (Indian?) in the delta and "the sack of Thaton was an after-thought."⁵ Another possible reason was that the Shan Yun were constantly annoying the Mon country and the Mon had invited intervention. It seems that he had "played the role of the lion who, called to intervene between two warring jackals, solved the difficulty by devouring both."⁶ After this conquest, a deliberate effort was made to transplant a culture that was Mon into the centre of a new and vigorous but somewhat raw ethnic group that was Burman. As such, the results of this conquest were momentous for the Burmans.

The introduction of Mon civilization had a long term effect. Culturally the conquerors were conquered. History affords many parallels of such happy results. A large number of inscriptions belonging to the period, immediately after *Aniruddha*, are in the Mon language. It is needless to say that the Burmans learnt the art of writing from the Mon.⁷ In architecture too, pagodas of that time like the *Patthamya*, *Nagayon*, *Abeyadana*, *Gubyaukgyi*, and *Nan-paya* are all of "Mon type".⁸ Thus it will not be very far from the truth to say that after A.D. 1057, for a certain period until the time of *Cañsū II* (A.D. 1174) or until the death of *Thiluin*

1. Pl. 160a⁶.

2. "The Siamese chronicles assert that he attacked Cambodia and ruled over most of what is now Siam, obtaining the *Hinayana* Buddhism, which he established as the official religion of Bagan from Nakorn Pat'om. But there would seem to be no historical basis for such assumptions." D.G.E. Hall: *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 124; See also H. G-Q. Wales: "Anuruddha and the Thaton Tradition", *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 152-6

3. Taw Sein Ko: *The Kalyani Inscription*, (1892), p. 49

4. Pl. 358^{5,39} Professor Luce says "In old Mon inscriptions and the oldest of old Burmese, the sign for -u- was usually hung from the middle vertical of k and not (as always since) from the vertical on the right. It seems that archaic -ku- was later misread as -no- and king MAKUTA as king MANOHA, a name afterwards corrupted, naturally enough, into Manohari and MANUHA." See also *JBRs*, XXXII, i, p.89.

5. *Ep. Birm.*, I, i, p. 6: C.O. Blagden suggests the existence of "flourish" of Indian Settlements in the delta. In view of the fact that there is no direct evidence to support this, it is very unlikely that there existed Indian settlements in the Irrawaddy delta. The presence of an Indian trading community in some towns is however possible.

6. G.H. Luce: "A Cambodian? Invasion of Lower Burma"; *JBRs*, XII, i, pp. 39-45

7. Luce: "Peoples", *JBRs*, XLII, i, 64

8. G.H. Luce: "Burma's Debt to Pagan", *JBRs*, XXII, iii, p. 121, n. 3 and "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", *JBRs*, XXVI, i, 17

Mañ (A.D. 1113?),¹ allowing the time between 1113 and 1174 as the period of transition, the Burmese culture was more or less a copy of the Mon. In other words, 1057-1113 is the Mon period of Pagan culture. Apart from this Mon culture, there is another important result of this conquest of the delta by Aniruddha. It gives for the first time to the Burmans, an opportunity to have a direct overseas contact with Ceylon and possibly India.

These contacts are mentioned only in the chronicles. Desiring to have a tooth-relic to be enshrined in the Shwezigon pagoda, Aniruddha sent a mission to Ceylon to ask for it.² The chronicles of Ceylon make no mention of this mission. But a relationship of completely another nature is mentioned in the Cūlavamsa.³ The king of Ceylon, Vijaya Bāhu (1065-1120) [Siri-singhabodhi] was engaged in a series of war with the Cola of South India and so he sent a fleet with many presents to ask for help from the king of Rāmañña. But by virtue of conquest, Aniruddha was already the lord of Rāmañña and therefore the king from whom Vijaya Bāhu expected help was Aniruddha.⁴ There is no mention of the date of this mission or the fulfilment of the request. But it might be sometime between 1060 and 1063 when Vijaya Bāhu was just a minor king trying to expel the Cola encroachments.⁵ Another mission, this time for religious purposes, was sent in 1071 when Vijaya Bāhu asked Aniruddha to send monks to carry out a religious reformation in Ceylon.⁶ This is worthy of notice as it opens for the first time a close religious alliance between Burma and Ceylon which was to become more important towards the end of the Pagan dynasty. King Aniruddha was succeeded by his son Mañ Lulān i.e. Sawlu in A.D. ?1077.

Sawlu of the chronicles is recorded in the inscriptions as Mañ Lulān - the Young King. An inscription dated S. 573, Waxing 9 of Namkā, Tuesday⁷ (21 July 1211) mentions Mañ Lulān ordering an enquiry into a religious dedication. Another Pali inscription not dated, found at Mergui,⁸ bears the name of a king of Pagan and judging from the type of script, it belongs to the early period of Pagan. The regnal title of the donor mentioned in it is entirely different from the form of titles adopted by Thiluin Mañ and his successors. Thus, a suggestion arises that this title Śrī Bajrābharanātrībūpati - The Victorious Bearer of the Thunderbolt, Lord of the Three Worlds, might belong to Mañ Lulān. It was in the time of his reign that the Mon whom his father probably subjugated, tried for the first time but unsuccessfully to free themselves from the Burmese rule. It was probably the Ngayamankan

1. Rājakumār (Myazedi) Inscription says that in A.B. 1628 Thiluin Mañ became king of Pagan and after a reign of 28 years, he was 'sick unto death'. It seems that he never survived that sickness. This gives us A.B. 1656 or A.D. 1112 as the last years of his reign. But "List 73 inscription" tells differently. It says that in S. 513 Cañsū I (Thiluin Mañ's successor) was 63 years old and was on the throne for 37 years. Thus, S. 450 was the year of his birth and S. 476 (A.D. 1114) his accession or the end of his predecessor. Professor Luce splits the difference and dates his death provisionally in A.D. 1113.

2. Hmannan, para. 135a; GPC, pp. 88-91

3. Wijesinha: Mahāvamsa II, p. 81 (1909) and Wilhem Geiger: Cūlavamsa I, p. 202

4. ASB, 1920, p. 17, para. 34

5 & 6. Op. cit. pp. 89-90. The date 1071 is fixed on the authority of the Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon edited by Muller, p. 61. See also Epigraphia Zeylenica II, pp. 246, 253-4; Rāsanāyagan Mudaliyār: "Vijaya Bāhu's Inscription at Polannaruwa", Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXIX, 1924; Wijesinha: Op. cit. pp. 89-90 and Geiger, Op. cit., p. 214

7. Pl. 60a3. All dates in the Christian Era (Julian) are worked out from the tables by Sir A. Irwin: "The Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A.D. 639-1752", Indian Antiquary, 1910, pp. 285-315

8. Pl. 548a¹

rebellion.¹ This *Mañ Lulan* was succeeded by *Thiluin Mañ* in 1084.²

A great deal about this great king is known from inscriptions belonging to his reign which are in the Mon language. The name *Kyanzittha* seems to be the modernized form of *Kalanacsā*³ - ? the Officer Prince.⁴ But in the inscriptions he is *Thiluin Mañ* - the King of *Thiluin* or *Thiluin Svan* - The Lord of *Thiluin*. His regnal title is *Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* - The Victorious Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds. The Great Shwezigon Inscription⁵ says that in A.B. 1630, *Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* became king in *Arimaddanapura* and upheld the Buddhist religion to its utmost benefit. That great personage, before he was king at *Pagan*, was in a previous existence also the founder of the exalted city of *Śrīkṣetra*. He was at that time known as *Bisnū* (*Vishnu*), the sage and he received help from *Gavampati*, *Indra*, *Bissukamma* and *Katakamma* in building that city. In the words of *Gavampati*, the inscription gives a lengthy account in praise of the achievements of King *Śrī Tribhuvanāditya*, the reincarnated Vishnu. This is the royal propaganda, wherein we find some vague suggestions of an insurrection, its suppression, and reconstruction and rehabilitation works carried out by the king after the trouble. Probably, this is about the Ngayamankan Rebellion. The *Mahāthera* with *San Ariy* - the Order, helped and advised the king in the administration of justice and the extirpation of heresy. But the panegyric of the king is so high that he almost becomes a mythical hero. The inscription then continues to give the promises of *Bisnū*. He said that if ever he were to become a king at *Pagan*, he would rule righteously, conscientiously. That king would act as the chief bull ever leading the herd to better and sweeter pastures. He would also recognise the ancient rights of all local chiefs. Here again, in the words of *Bisnū*, we find *Thiluin Mañ* promising his beloved people that he would be just and humane and he would bring prosperity to all. The *Myagan Inscription*⁶ gives an addition to his regnal title. It becomes *Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarājājādhirājaparamisvarabala-cakkraṇar* - The Fortunate Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds of Men, Devas, and Brahmins, King of Law, Excellent King of Kings, Lord Supreme, Mighty Universal Monarch. This royal bombast is supported by more laudatory phrases than in the previous inscriptions. The *Prome Shwezandaw Inscription* (1)⁷ dated S. 455 Waxing . . of *Srāwan*? (3 June 1093) mentions that *Thiluin Mañ* belongs to the *ādiccavamsa* - the solar race in paternal descent. Another inscription⁸ says that "his mother (being) born of the *Vilva* line, his father of the Solar race." It is interesting to note that the king never thought of claiming any relationship with *Aniruddha* though all chronicles and one post-Pagan inscription⁹ maintain that *Aniruddha* was his father. Let us now discuss his acts of merit.

1. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, p. 116, n. 11. It is only a vague information but as there was no instance of enemies threatening the peace of the city (*Pagan*) during the reigning years of *Thiluin Mañ*, it must have occurred before his accession.
2. *Rājakumār* (Myazedi) Inscription 1-2. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, B, pp. 96 and 115. The Great Shwezigon inscription gives A.B. 1628 as the beginning of *Kyanzittha's* reign. The difference is explained as A.B. 1628 (A.D. 1084) being the year of accession and A.B. 1630 (A.D. 1086) being the year of *Abhiseka* (coronation).
3. *List* 33² (B II 903) and *List* 50 (A 19)
4. *Kalan* means an officer (see *JBRS*, XXX, i, p. 305, n. 25). *Cacsā* in the light of Ava period inscriptions probably means a prince on administrative duty.
5. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, pp. 90-129
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-43
7. *Ibid.*, p. 151
8. *Ibid.*, p. 167
9. *Hledauk Inscription of Taungpyon*, *List* 50¹, (A 19), *SIP*, p. 4

The Myagan inscription already mentioned records the construction of a reservoir for irrigation purposes by order of Thiluin Mañ. It shows how much the King was intent upon the welfare of his people. This record has also a vague suggestion of Thiluin Mañ's effort to bring about a carefully copied set of the Buddhist scriptures. The Alampagan inscription¹ is substantially the copy of the Myagan inscription except that it records the digging of a tank by order of Thiluin Mañ. The Ayetthama Hill inscription² records the repair of a pagoda in the Mon country by order of the king. It bears the date of S. 460 waxing 13 of Vaisākha (Friday, 16 April 1098). Another inscription³ tells us many interesting things done by the king such as the erection of a religious building, the copying of the Buddhist scriptures, the sending of a mission to Bodh Gaya to effect repairs at Vijrāsana—the seat of Adamant, the offer of the four necessities to the monks, his friendship with a Cola prince, his request to all his people to live in accordance with the laws of the religion and his generous treatment to birds and beasts. About a decade before his death he built a new palace, undoubtedly of wood, as we can find no remains of it now.⁴ The king left an inscription giving full details of the construction of his palace.

The Tharaba Gate inscription or the Palace inscription⁵ gives precisely the time and date of planning, building and rituals in connection with the building, but no year date is given. According to Dr. Sewell

the end of the year 1101 A.D. and the early part of 1102 best fit the particulars given.⁶

Probably it extended from December of 1101 to April of 1102. Two interesting things in this account are, firstly, the great importance attached to Vaisnavite rituals at the time when Buddhism in its pure form was supposed to be thriving and secondly, high places of honour given to Mon notables. The Naga worship was mentioned twice.⁷ Another point equally interesting is the first mention on the epigraphs of the word Mirmā (Burmans) side by side with Rneñ (Mon) and Tircul (Pyu).⁸ Unfortunately none of these inscriptions mention the king's services as a senior officer of Aniruddha and his love affairs which are quite popular with the chroniclers.

The Rājakumār inscription¹⁰ however gives us the last scene of his Thambula story. It reveals the pathetic act of a disinherited son by his most beloved wife approaching his father's

1. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, p. 143

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-7: see also *JBRs*, XXVIII, i, p. 92. This inscription, now in the Rangoon University Library has been traced as originally belonging to the Myatheindan Pagoda (Kyāk Talañ) at Ayetthama Hill (2 ½ miles from Mayangon Station or Taungsun Station on the Moulmein railway line.)

3. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, pp. 153-68. The Prince Shwesandaw Inscription (III)

4. Pagan had a very dry climate and wooden buildings might have been the cause of many fires. Another palace was constructed in 1204 (Pl. 27¹). A great fire that razed the whole city to ashes occurred in 1225 (Pl. 122a²). The building of palaces in wood is not a practice confined to Burma alone. It is spread all over S.E. Asia. See C. Duroiselle: *Guide to the Palace at Mandalay*, (1925) p. 6

5. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 1-68

6. *Ibid.*, p. 3

7. *Ibid.*, IX H¹⁰ p. 56 and H¹⁵ p. 57

8. *Ibid.*, IX B⁴² p. 42

9. Luce: "Peoples", *JBRs*, XLII, i, 55

10. Popularly known as the Myazedi inscription, *Ep. Birm.* I, i.

death-bed to report his meritorious deeds done on behalf of the father, who in reply exclaimed *thie ā thie ā* - Well done! Well done! Prince *Rājakumār* was the son of *Thiluiñ Mañ* and Thambula or *Trilokavatamiskā* - The Ornament of the Three Worlds. Why *Rājakumār* was not given the throne after his father's death is a problem indeed. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* gives this answer. *Mañ Lulan* (Sawlu) on the advice of his counsellors recalled *Thiluiñ Mañ* (Kyanzittha) soon after his accession. *Thiluiñ Mañ* left Thambula who was with child, commanding her to bring him the child when born if it be a boy. *Thiluiñ Mañ* became king later and married his daughter to Sawyun, son of *Mañ Lulan*. A young prince was born of this union and the king made this grandson his heir. The rightful heir i.e. son of Thambula came late (two years after his accession to the throne) and therefore the king could only make him a governor.² Without giving the year in which the grandson was born, the story appears quite sound. The epigraphic evidence refutes the story.

The king ascended the throne in A.D. 1084 and in A.D. 1086 his son *Rājakumār* who was then seven years old appeared at the court. The grandson, who was made heir, was born in A.D. 1083 according to "List 73"³ inscription. Therefore it is impossible to believe the story that *Cañsū I* being made heir was accidental. It seems that political expediency required the king to do that deliberately. An inscription⁴ the script of which does not seem to be contemporary suggests an altogether new theory. It says that *Asawadhammā* son of *Sudlummarac* (son of ? *Makuta*), planned a rebellion but King *Narapaticāñsū* appeased him by promising to marry his own daughter *Rhweimsañ* to *Nāgasman*, the son of *Asawadhammā*. With this marriage tie, he peacefully and wisely averted the danger of a Mon rebellion. To later inscription writers, any king of Pagan can be *Narapaticāñsū* and therefore it is not impossible to take this king as *Thiluiñ Mañ*. He might have contracted this marriage tie between his daughter and the great grandson of *Makuta* (*Manuha*) during the *Ngayamankan* rebellion and even promised the throne to the offspring of that union so that both Mon and Burman could accept the next king without question. If that is true, *Thiluiñ Mañ* must be considered as the most statesman-like of all the Burmese kings. But it was unpleasant for later Burman patriots to remember this and therefore they probably tried to forget it. Later Burmans also tried successfully to reverse his language policy.

He used the Mon language in all his inscriptions and this strongly suggests that he used Mon as the official language of his kingdom and with this, he hoped that the two peoples would soon forget their racial differences and become a single nation as Saxons and Normans mixed freely and became the English nation. Anyhow this language policy did not survive for long its patron. There was a transition period from 1113 to A.D. 1174 during which time the use of Mon language was gradually replaced by Burmese until the time of *Cañsū II* (1174-1211) when the Mon language was no longer used. *Thiluiñ Mañ* was succeeded by his grandson *Cañsū I* who was popularly known as *Alaungsithu*.

As mentioned above, *Cañsū I* probably was the son of the Mon prince *Nāgasman* and the Burmese princess *Rhweimsañ*. He was born in A.D. 1083 and ascended the

1. The *Rājakumār* Inscription Mon face, line 17, *Ep. Birn.* i. i, p. 55

2. *Hmannan*, paras. 138 and 139; *GPC*, pp. 100 and 102

3. *List 73*¹⁻² (A 28) mentions that this successor of *Thiluiñ Mañ* was 63 years old in S. 513. Therefore his year of birth was S. 450 (A.D. 1088).

4. *List 346* (A 8). This inscription is dated A.D. 1274

5. *List 73*¹⁻² (A 28) and Pl. 113¹⁻²

throne in A.D. 1113.¹ His name Caṇṣū is the burmanised Jayasūra - The Victorious Hero.² In post-Pagan times, he is usually mentioned as Alaungsithu - The Furtive Buddha, The Victorious Hero. His other names were Saktawrhān³ - Long Life, Rhuykū Dāyaka⁴ - Donor of the Shwegu Temple, and Sri Tibhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja⁵ - Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law.⁵ The name Saktawrhān implies that he lived long but we cannot tell with certainty the year of his death. According to the chronicles he ruled until S. 529 (A.D. 1167).⁶ But the Dhammayangyi inscription⁷ tells us that his successor had finished building the Dhammayangyi pagoda in A.D. 1165 and therefore his rule terminated one or two years earlier - probably in A.D. 1163. If so, he reigned for fifty years and died at the age of seventy five. He left a very important record.

This most interesting record of Caṇṣū is a Pali-Sanskrit inscription of two faces set in the wall of the Shwegugyi temple of Pagan (A.D. 1131).⁸ Except for the date which is written in Sanskrit, the rest of the inscription is in Pali verse of great poetical merit. Professor Pe Maung Tin says:

It is such good Pali. Some verses of the prayer remind us of the canonical Mettasutta, or the Discourse on Love.⁹

The last stanza of the inscription mentions the name of the donor and the dates of the beginning and completion of the shrine.

Thus the writing on this stone is made by the King Sri Tibhuvanādityadhammarāja, who is endowed with mindfulness, firmness, intelligence, character, who is a seeker of the constituents of Nirvana. Prosperity! The cave¹⁰ was begun on Sunday the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Vaisakha (when the moon was) in conjunction with the constellation Uttarāśāḍhaka and (the sun was) in Leo in Śaka year 1053. This cave was completed on the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Margaśīra on (Thursday) at the conjunction of the sun with the constellation Vaiśākha in 1053 Śaka year.¹¹

This is the one and only instance of the Śaka Era of A.D. 78 being mentioned in the Pagan inscriptions. The dates correspond to Sunday 17 May 1131 and Thursday 17 December 1131.¹²

1. See above, p. 10, n. 3

2. Pl. 365a¹

3. Pl. 60a⁴

4. Pl. 311b¹⁸

5. Pl. 118; Pl. 241

6. GPC, p. 132

7. Pl. 4 & 5 (1165)

8. Pl. 1-2

9. JBRs, X, ii, p. 67

10. The term "cave" used here means an artificial cave and not a "cave-temple" like Ajanta of India. Perhaps, "hollow-pagoda" is a better translation for the Burmese word ka. See also JBRs, XXVI, i, p. 45

11. JBRs, XXII, iii, p. 151

12. In checking up the dates and rendering them into equivalents in the Christian Era, with the help of Sir Alfred Wainwright's Charts (IA, 1910, pp. 289-315), I find that second Taga is used instead of second Wazo in this intercalary year of S. 493.

The king is alleged to be a great traveller¹ even visiting places far beyond Burma by land and sea but we find no mention of his travels in the inscriptions. As mentioned above, he lived probably for seventy five years and died in A.D. 1163. The Mount Thetso inscription² gives a list of early Pagan kings and thus we are able to tell who succeeded *Caṅsū I*.

It records that on S. 573, waxing 9 of *Namka* (Tuesday 21 July 1211), the daughter of *Marhak Sañ Nā Sok Sañ*, the clerk of *Kamkun*, poured water and dedicated to the pagoda the land which was exempted from revenue as a result of a legal enquiry of *Mañ Lulāṇ*. Then it continues:

...*Thiluiṇ Mañ lak thak le lwat e' / Sak Taw Rhañ lak thak le lwat e' / Im Taw Syañ lak thak le lwat e' / Narapṭi lak thak le lwat e' / ...2*

It was exempted also in the reign of *Thiluiṇ Mañ*; also exempted in the reign of *Sak Taw Rhañ* (*Caṅsū I*); also exempted in the reign of *Im Taw Syañ* (*Kalagya*); and also exempted in the reign of *Narapṭi* (*Caṅsū II*).

True to tradition *Nātoṇmyā* after becoming king on Thursday 10 waxing of *Tuiṇslāṇ*, S. 573 (18 August 1211)³ also granted the same exemption. Thus according to this inscription, *Caṅsū I* was succeeded by *Im Taw Syañ* - The Lord of the Royal House.⁴ In old Burmese, a palace is called *im taw* and therefore the name implies that he built a new palace. In the chronicles he is *Narathu* or *Kalagya*. We find no epigraphic evidence about his deceit and cruelty as mentioned in the chronicles. We cannot also ascertain that being angry with the king, the *mahāthera Parisakū* went over to Ceylon. But the Sinhalese chronicle *Cūlavamsa* records charges against the King of *Ramañña*.⁵ It says that the two kingdoms i.e. *Laṅka* and *Ramañña*, since they belonged to the same faith, had friendly relations for a long time. Trade between the two countries also flourished. Then suddenly the foolish king of *Ramañña*, who was then *Im Taw Syañ* illtreated the Sinhalese merchants and took exorbitant rates on all exports, largely elephants to *Laṅka*. To avenge this King *Parākkamabāhu I* (1153-1186) sent an expedition to Burma under general *Adicca*. As a result the Burmese king was killed. It even claims Sinhalese suzerainty over Burma henceforth. The Devanagala inscription gives the date of this invasion as A.D. 1165.⁶ The Burmese chronicles say that *Narathu* (*Im Taw Syañ*) died at the hands of Indians from *Pataikkhaya*.⁷ The Dhammayangyi pagoda of Pagan is attributed to him and its inscription⁸ is dated A.D. 1165. Therefore it seems that he was king only for a short period (?1163-5) during which time he built that pagoda and it was left unfinished when he was assassinated by the Sinhalese in 1165. According to the Mount Thetso inscription quoted above, he was succeeded by *Caṅsū II*. But between *Im Taw Syañ* and *Caṅsū II*, there was an interregnum of nine years. The chronicles try to fill in this blank with a fictitious king called *Minyin Naratheinkha*.⁹

1. *Hmannan*, para. 141; *GPC*, pp. 113-22.

2. Pl. 60a⁴⁻⁵

3. This date in Pl. 60a9, S. 573, waxing . . of *Tuiṇslāṇ* Thursday is completed from the date given in Pl. 90¹

4. This name does not apply to all kings of Burma as *Pharaoh* - the Great House, is used for all kings of ancient Egypt

5. Wijesingha: *Mahāvamsa* II, pp. 189-92 and Geiger: *Cūlavamsa* II, pp. 64-70

6. See S. Paranavitana: "Devanagala Rock-Inscription of *Parākkamabāhu I*", *Ep. Zey.*, III, vi, pp. 312-25

7. *Pataikkhaya* is in Tippera district, north east of Chittagong. See also Harvey: *Burma*, pp. 326-7

8. Pl. 4 & 5 (1165)

9. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, pp. 133-8

The chronicles have one Minyin Naratheinhka (1171-4) as the king before *Cañsū* II. This is clearly a mistake because *Narasiṅgha Uccanā*, whose regnal title was *Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājadhīrājādānapati*¹ was son and successor of *Nātonmyā*² and not of *Im Taw Syaṅ* (Kalagya). *Nātonmyā* ascended the throne on Thursday, 10 waxing of *Tāauslaṅ*, S. 573 (18 August 1211)³ and reigned for about twenty years. We find in an inscription⁴ that in A.D. 1231, a king (his name is illegible) made a dedication and shared the merit with his younger brother *Klacwā*. *Klacwā* ascended the throne on 4 Waxing of *Namkā*, S. 547 (19 July 1235).⁵ Therefore, it is possible that *Klacwā*'s elder brother and his predecessor (*Narasiṅgha Uccanā*) ruled from A.D. 1231 to A.D. 1235. A law suit recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1259⁶ says definitely that from *Nātonmyā* to *Tarukpli* there are five kings, perhaps excluding *Maṅ Yan* whose reign was so short that his name was left out of the list. The corrected dynastic table shown below will be of much help to understand this.

KINGS OF PAGAN 1044-1287⁷

1. <i>Aniruddha</i>	?1044-?1077	(1. Anawratha, founder of the empire	1044)
2. <i>Maṅ Lulan</i>	?1077-1084	(2. Sawlu, son of 1	1077)
3. <i>Thiluiṇ Maṅ</i> [Usurper]	1084-1113	(3. Kyanzittha, son of 1	1084)
4. <i>Cañsū I</i>	1113-?1163	(4. Alaungsithu, grandson of 3	1112)
5. <i>Im Taw Syaṅ</i>	?1163-1165	(4. Narathu, son of 4	1167)
Interregnum	1165-1174	(6. Naratheinhka, son of 5	1170)
6. <i>Cañsū II</i> [Aniruddha Line]	1174-1211	(7. Narapatisithu brother of 6	1173)
7. <i>Nātonmyā</i> , son of 6	1211-?1231	(8. Htilominlo or Nantaungmya, son of 7	1210)
8. <i>Narasiṅgha Uccanā</i> , ⁸ son of 7	?1231-1235		
9. <i>Klacwā</i> , son of 7	1235-?1249	(9. Kyaswa, son of 8	1234)
10. <i>Uccanā</i> , son of 8	?1249-1256	(10. Uzana, son of 9	1250)
11. <i>Maṅ Yan</i> , son of 10	?1256		
12. <i>Tarukpli</i> , son of 10	1256-1287	(11. Narathihapate or Tarokpyemin, son of 10	1254)

1. Pl. 138¹ and Pl. 568b⁵⁻⁶

2. Pl. 138² and Pl. 200¹

3. Pl. 90¹

4. Pl. 672.9

5. Pl. 90¹⁴⁻¹⁵ and Pl. 181¹

6. Pl. 193⁷

7. Names and dates in parenthesis are from *Handbook of Oriental History*, (1951), p. 131

8. The chronicles combine this king's name with No. 11 King *Maṅ Yan* and thus a fictitious name of King Minyin Naratheinhka appears and he is made the predecessor of *Cañsū II*.

HISTORY OF BURMA 117-1287

WHILE Mon together with such languages as Pali, Sanskrit, Pyu and Burmese was used during the transition period, with the advent of Cañsū II we come to the Burmese period of Pagan culture as opposed to the Mon period in the first half of the dynasty. It seems that a reaction against Mon influence set in and a burmanising movement, which in the course of the next three centuries influenced Mon much more than Mon had done Burmese, started with full force. With the change in language came an entirely different style of writing. The Burmans started writing their language in a simple and straightforward way. They used short sentences probably because they were less sophisticated and more vigorous than the Mon or the later Burmans. An example of the new style is given below :

/o/ Uiw, Klaw Sañ kloñ plu pri / Sākarec 560 Ta (po) la pleñ lhwat (e) kloñ 3 chwi
(sa) ñkan achū cum 2 pā sañkan 2 . . ñ (p) iy tumi . . si pateñsā 1 pañ nwā ma 1 lhū e
/ sañsarā (leñ rā rā) chuw ñray luw ñāray ma luw (plañ cum sate) . . . luiw sañsarā
achum nuyrapan tuiñ (khyañ e) / / lup sū khapañ ra ca pā ci / / o / / chimi dhoñ 1 (e)
piy e kathin le piy e kadhi (n) . . so ap 40 ñā cā karā 20 / / luim khwak 4 khlap
sapit ta lumim.khoñ loñ 1 chū khri (n)hap 20 nañ cwā rañ atuiñ ma si liw sa te2

Having built a monastery, I, Uiw, Klaw Sañ, on 11 February 1199, dedicated (to the Religion) three monasteries, two complete sets of monastic robes, two robes, a padesa - wishing tree—and a cow. Wheresoever I wander in samsara I wish not misery like hell. May (the wishes) be fulfilled. I wish nirvana at the end of samsara. May all the workers (on the pagoda) share my merit. I gave a thousand oil lamps, kathina robes, forty needles, twenty jars, four cups, an almsbowl, a bell, twenty khri nhap.³ My capital is small; my wants infinite.

For the sake of comparison, an extract from a Mon inscription written in praise of Kyanzittha is given below.

/ smiñ dewatāw / ðey kāl kirmun gna smiñ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ
yañ pñāñ c-āñ ma jnok kum ci yal gabbha tlūñ / yañ nimit jirnaḥ dumiñc nakṣat
dumiñc stlūñ ta gna smiñ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ / ðey kup cinleḥ gna
smiñ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ sḍūk kṣeḥ pumrey moy ma nom ku
punras row kṣeḥ ma das not kirkūl mat brey scinleḥ ci stum ḥaḥ row tney ma tāw
kum /⁴

"O king of devas! In the time of the reign of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, if another army should come, a good omen of victory, an auspicious constellation shall come before King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. In the time of

1. Cañsū I's Shwezigon Inscription *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, No. X, pp. 68-70 is in Mon, the Shwegugyi Inscription (Pl. 1 & 2) is in Pali and Sanskrit, Rājakumr Inscription is in Mon, Burmese, Pyu and Pali. The Burmese inscriptions of this transition period are Pl. 110, Pl. 111 - 112, Pl. 3, Pl. 4-5

2. Pl. 117b

3. Probably sandals for monks.

4. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, 1 C¹⁵⁻²², pp. 118-9

war King Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja shall ride upon a noble steed that has swiftness even as the steeds that are of the breed of the clouds, (and) shall fight (and) shall shine like the noonday sun."

With the change in the language came the change in architecture.

A new style of architecture gradually replaced the "Mon type". Professor Luce gives a very good picture of this change.

The Burman, in contrast with the Talaing of those days, was an unromantic matter-of-fact person. He wrote in prose and not in poetry. He described simply, without exaggeration - very differently from Burmans of latter days. The dim religious light, dark corridors and rich lurid colouring which Mons liked in their temples he disliked. And when he borrowed their style of architecture he soon knocked out big open doorways on all sides of their murky bat-ridden temples, and let in sunlight; and his taste in colour and design was far brighter and lighter than theirs.¹

Let us now study the nature of the early Burmese inscriptions.

Largely the inscription pillars were put up to record their dedications. They dedicated lands, slaves and various kinds of commodities to pagodas and monasteries. This is the main form of their investment as they believed that in so giving away their property they would ultimately attain nirvana. They took every care to record what they had given away in charity. The slaves were listed by name, nationality, age and status. The area, class and extent of the lands were given in detail. Witnesses to their good deeds were cited by name and position. Dates were given for all specific occasions. In conclusion they blessed all supporters of their meritorious works, cursed all infringers of them and prayed for the boon of eternal peace. Thus, the inscriptions they left behind are brief in statement but contain historical material and are never dull to read. As the use of the native tongue became popular, it seems that everybody who could afford a dedication would think his work of merit incomplete unless he recorded it on an inscription. Thus, we have more epigraphs in this latter half of the dynasty than in the earlier one. Thanks to these we know more about their kings than we know about their predecessors. Still, little is known of Caṅsū II except the date of his accession, how many queens he had, and his children.

The Saw Min Hla inscription² (which is a copy made in Bodawpaya's reign from the one made by Saw Min Hla the apronṭoau³ - concubine - of Caṅsū II) definitely mentioned that "in S. 536 (1174) Caṅsū Maṅkri ascended the golden mountain" i.e. the throne. Caṅsū II had six queens and many concubines. The queens were :

1. Toṇphlaṅsañ - The South Queen
2. Mlacphlaṅsañ - The North Queen
3. Caw Mrakan Sañ - The Queen of the Emerald Lake
4. Valamisikā (Uchokpan) - The Ornament of the Head
5. Caw Alhwan - Queen Paragon
6. Veluvati - Queen Gift of Bamboo

1. *J.B.R.S.*, XXII, iii, pp. 121-2

2. Copy. List 7157 (B. II. 839)

3. *Apron* is the term used for lesser wives in the law books. See D. Richardson : *The Damathat or the Law of Melloo*, p. 94. Probably *apronṭoau* here means "Royal Junior Wife".

Queen *Toñphlañsañ*¹, though her name implies that she was *Cañsū* II's chief queen, was actually not. Probably she had no children. Queen *Markansañ*'s son inherited the throne and therefore she stood next below *Markansañ* in position. The Mahadhi inscription (1211)² gives the names of the donors listed in order of their rank and position and thus we are able to give the names and status of *Cañsū* II's queens. It says that in S. 573 Waning 7 of *Santu*, the *Mahāthera Dhammavilāsa* dedicated some ornaments, 119 slaves, 14 oxen and 100 pay² of land from the *Kanplañ* region to the *Tilomanguir* pagoda (?*Trailokluḥḥbuil* - The Great Happiness of the Three Worlds.³) After him the great King *Cañsū* II⁴ dedicated to the same pagoda 50 pay of land from *Warantut* and 30 pay from *Mapancara Hurāñay* village. Next, *Nātoñmyā*, who was still the Crown Prince at that time, dedicated 100 pay of land from *Khamñmhū*. Next, Queen *Mrakansañ* (*Nātoñmyā*'s mother) dedicated 50 pay of land from *Mapancara* lake area. Next, Queen *Toñphlañ Sañ*⁴ dedicated 40 pay of land from *Toñphlañ*. Next, Queen *Mlacphlañsañ* dedicated 30 pay of land from *Putak*. Next, Queen *Uiw Chok Pan*'s three sons were dedicated as slaves to the pagoda by the great King *Cañsū* II and he himself redeemed them by dedicating 30 pay of land from *Ui Chok Kuw*. Then, Princess *Acaw Mañ Lha* who was the only sister of *Nātoñmyā*, dedicated 30 pay of land from the *Calañ* area, 20 from *Rwā Sā*, 20 from *Mapancara* and 10 from *Sa Yoh*. The land dedicated were therefore 510 pay in total.

The Midwedaw inscription (1179)⁵ mentions that the Queen *Toñphlañsañ* dedicated her slaves and lands of *Lak Pam* village near *Krā Puiw*. Queen *Mlacphlañsañ*, according to the Mahadhi inscription quoted above, holds a third position⁶ among the queens of *Cañsū* II. In old Burmese, the word *mlacphlañ* or *mlac ok* means the north and later it is shortened to *mlok*. Usually the north queen occupies a second position. We have another mention of her name in the *Laydaunggan* inscription⁷ but unfortunately, it is largely illegible except for the blessings and prayers. Queen *Caw Mrakansañ*, as the mother of *Nātoñmyā* (1211-1231) the son and successor of *Cañsū* II, was considered very important, although she was of humble birth.⁸ The interesting story of the king's whitlow and her tender care of it,⁹ according to traditional accounts, has one weak point so that we feel reluctant to accept it in full. According to the story her son *Nātoñmyā* was the youngest among the king's sons,¹⁰ but in token of love, the king promised her to name him his successor. Epigraphic evidence shows that he was not the youngest son.¹¹ The queen's dedication of lands to the *Mahāthera*

1. A king in Burma when giving audience faces east with his chief queen on his right side i.e. the south. Therefore the South Queen is the Chief Queen.

2. Pl. 34

3. Ink Inscription Pl. 367b. (Burmese)⁷ and (Pali)⁴. *Bārucl* was the original builder of this pagoda. But he died in 1125 without completing it. *Saṃ Tra Uil* continued the building which was completed in 1217 and he gave the name *Tilomanguir* (*Trailokluḥḥbuil*) to this pagoda in 1223. It is very interesting to note that the name of this pagoda sounds very much like a Mon name and that such a name was given to a pagoda at the time when burmanization was in full force. Probably, this name is corrupted into *Htilominlo*.

4. Pl. 34⁸

5. Pl. 256^{3,20}

6. Pl. 34⁹

7. Pl. 342

8. *Hmannan*, para. 143; GPC, p. 141

9. *Ibid.*, para. 143; GPC, p. 141. See also Harvey: *Burma*, pp. 58, 329

10. *Ibid.*, para. 143; GPC, p. 151

11. See below pp. 19-20

Dhammarājaguru, tutor of her son (*Nātoṇmyā*) and daughter (*Acaw Mañ Lha*)¹ is recorded in the Mahadhi inscription.² It seems that she died some time between 1220 and 1231 as one of her grandchildren in 1239 recorded the dedication of some lands and slaves which originally belonged to the old grandmother Queen *Skhin Phlwā Marakan Sañ* and had devolved through *Nātoṇmyā* who died in ?1231 to the donor of the Hsinbyushin pagoda.³ In 1244, when another grandchild *Sattya* made a dedication at the Thinganyon pagoda,⁴ he expressedly prayed that Queen *Marakan Sañ* may also get the merit of his good deeds:

...*i suiw nā plu so koñ mhu kā phurhāloñ Cañsū māñkri amiphurhā Marakan Sañ ra cay sate...*

The last mention of her name in the inscriptions is in a legal case of 1291 when her name is referred to as the original owner of the land in dispute.⁵ Queen *Vaṭamāsikā*, also known as *U Chok Pan* - The Ornament of the Head, was fourth in position among the queens of *Cañsū* II.⁷ She was the younger sister of *Uiw, Thak Plañ Sañ*, the Lady of *Tuiñ Sañ*⁸ and *Sūlāphirac*⁹ husband of *Kroñtau Sañ*.¹⁰ She had three children (or ?sons) who were once dedicated to the *Tilomañguir* pagoda by *Cañsū* II and were later redeemed.¹¹ The three children were *Rājasūra*, *Gaṅgāsūra* and ?*Pyamkhi*¹² who with the exception of the last, figured as the most important persons next to the king in the state, during the reigns of *Nātoṇmyā*, *Nara-singha Uccanā* and *Klacwā*. They were given high places of honour, probably because their mother Queen *Vaṭamāsikā* came from a very highborn Sinhalese family. We know very little about Queen *Caw Allwan*. The *Dhammarājika* pagoda built by *Cañsū* II was completed in 1198 and in 1200, Queen *Caw Allwan* dedicated slaves to that pagoda.¹³ In 1231-2, the queen and her daughter *Sattikāmi* made another dedication of slaves to the same pagoda.¹⁴ The last queen in our list is *Veluvati*, of whom the chronicles write a very lovely but quite mythical story.¹⁵ She was found in a giant bamboo "born of heat and moisture" and she had all the attributes of a lovely damsel except that her ears were too big and she was pot-bellied. When brought to the palace she was first offered to king Minyin Naratheinhka who refused to accept her because of her big ears and stomach. The queen-mother cut her ears to the right size, put her on a diet and gave her to *Cañsū* II who was then the Crown Prince.

1. Pl. 34¹¹, Pl. 63a⁷

2. Pl. 63a¹⁰

3. Pl. 133²⁶

4. Pl. 153a^{5-6,11}

5. Pl. 272²⁸

6. Pl. 915, 94a⁶, 145¹⁴ (*Uchokpan*)

7. Pl. 34¹⁰ (*Uiw Chok Pan*)

8. Pl. 143a⁷, Pl. 143b⁵, Pl. 145¹³

9. Pl. 144²¹ (father of Queen *Caw*), Pl. 145^{14,15}

10. Pl. 145¹⁵

11. See above p. 17

12. *Rājasūra* - Pl. 90²⁰, Pl. 91⁶, Pl. 94a^{6,21}, Pl. 104¹⁴, Pl. 374³⁰, Pl. 375⁹, Pl. 376^{9,47}. *Gaṅgāsūra* - Pl. 90²⁰, Pl. 186⁷, Pl. 374³⁰. *Pyamkhi* - Pl. 42¹⁴, Pl. 94a²⁶, Pl. 186¹

13. Pl. 369b¹⁶

14. List 163¹³ (A 50)

15. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, p. 135

"When her ear was cut aright she bore a marvellous beauty insomuch that all men seeing her were dazed and could not stand upright." It was because of her beauty that *Cañsū* II quarrelled with his brother (King Minyin Naratheinkha) and eventually the king was killed and *Cañsū* II succeeded him.¹ Unfortunately, as mentioned above, epigraphic evidence shows that there was no intermediate king between *Im Taw Syan* and *Cañsū* II. Nor can we find mention of *Veluvati*'s son *Jayasūra* in the inscriptions. In the Sulamani inscription (1175)², this *Veluvati* was mentioned as the donor of the Nadaungtap pagoda. We can trace only two names from among the king's concubines and they were *Aprōtoau Co Mañ*: *Lha*³ and *Moñma Khañ Mi Nay*⁴ who made a dedication in 1198. In another dedication dated 1206 this *Khañ Mi Nay* was mentioned as *Co Khañ Mi Nay*. She probably was promoted then to queenship because we have many instances in the inscriptions showing that only queens and princesses used the prefix *Co*. Perhaps she was the king's favourite. *Cañsū* II must have had many children, of whom we know that *Nātoñmyā* and Princess *Acaw Manlha* were born of Queen *Mrakan Sañ*, *Rājasūra*, *Gaṅgasūra*, and *Pyamīkhi* were born of Queen *Vaṭamsikā* and Princess *Sattikāmi* born of Queen *Caw Alhwan*. There were three others, namely *Kramsuīnkri* (father-in-law of *Samantasū*),⁵ *Siṅghapicañ*⁶ and the wife of *Byaggasūra*,⁷ but unfortunately we cannot trace the names of their mothers. *Cansū* was succeeded by *Nātoñmyā* on 18 August 1211.⁸

In the inscriptions, the new king is known as *Nātoñmyā*⁹ or *Nātoñ Skhiñ*¹⁰—The Lord of the Ear Ornaments. The chronicles name him *Nandaungmya* because his mother made many entreaties to *Cañsū* II that he might succeed to the throne.¹¹ This does not hold good any longer. *Nātoñmyā*, though his mother was a gardener's daughter,¹² was undoubtedly able and efficient and not the youngest son of *Cañsū* II as alleged.¹³ He succeeded to the throne superseding the three sons of *Vaṭamsikā*, who by blood, seem to have had a better claim to the throne. Perhaps, *Nātoñmyā*'s gentleness and affability won their superficial submission.¹⁴ All or at least one of them, i.e. *Pyamīkhi*, however might have been plotting against him who in their eyes was a usurper. Ultimately in alliance with Prince *Siṅghapicañ*, and Prince *Klacwā* (younger son of *Nātoñmyā* who later became king in 1235), *Pyamīkhi* rebelled.¹⁵ Undoubtedly the attempt failed and most probably *Pyamīkhi* and

1. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, pp. 135–6

2. *List* 97 (*UB*, I, 173)

3. *List* 715 (*B*, II, 839)

4. *Pl.* 29²

5. *Pl.* 51³, *Pl.* 83²

6. *Pl.* 41¹⁰, *Pl.* 42¹⁴, *Pl.* 74²⁷, *Pl.* 133¹⁶

7. *Pl.* 162¹⁵, *Pl.* 182a⁹

8. *Pl.* 90¹

9. *Pl.* 312³, *Pl.* 34⁶, *Pl.* 63a²⁻³, *Pl.* 64², *Pl.* 186⁵, *Pl.* 239¹¹, *Pl.* 272²⁹

10. *Pl.* 41³, *Pl.* 231b¹, *Pl.* 273¹

11. Probably the chroniclers read *Nan:toñmyā* (*Nandaungmya*) instead of *Nātoñmyā* which is quite possible and had to fabricate a story to support their reading.

12. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, p. 141

13. *Ibid.*, para. 143; *GPC*, p. 151

14. *Ibid.*, para. 143; *GPC*, pp. 150–1

15. *Pl.* 42¹⁴, *Pl.* 186¹¹

Singhapicāñ were executed; but the king forgave *Klacwā* and *Pyamkhi*'s son (name unknown) possibly because of their youth. It seems that, *Rājasūra* and *Gaṅgasūra* remained loyal to *Nātoṇmyā* henceforth. When *Klacwā* ascended the throne, they two together with the ministers *Mahāsamanta*, *Amritta Lakyā*, *Anantajayapikrama* and *Mahāsatti* were appointed to form a royal commission enquiring into the authenticity of the religious lands, especially the *Hañ Rami Pa-Ak* lands dedicated by *Jayapavattati*.¹ If the evidence was weak, King *Klacwā* was intent upon confiscating them as he was very much concerned with the dwindling of the state revenue owing to the ever increasing extent of the religious lands from which he could collect nothing. When appointing the said commission, *Rājasūra* and *Gaṅgasūra* were described as *mañ phathuy* – the king's father's younger brothers i.e. *Nātoṇmyā*'s younger brothers.² Thus we come to the conclusion that *Nātoṇmyā* was, if not the eldest, one of the senior sons and definitely not the youngest son of *Cañsū II*. Likewise another name of the king *Htilominlo* – the Choice of the White Umbrella as well as his Predecessor – cannot be taken as true.³ He is also called *Uccanā*⁴ a name adopted for the first time by a Pagan king. Probably, the name is *Uccanātha* – the High Protector – which has a close resemblance to *Uccadeva* a name by which *Vishṇu* is sometimes known. His regnal title is *Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājā* – The Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law.⁵ As mentioned above, he was Queen *Mrakan Sañ*'s son and his younger sister was Princess *Acaw Mañ Lha*. In his youth he was educated by a monk on whom he conferred the title of *Dhammarājaguru* when he became king.⁶ This monk was mentioned as the native of *Molañā*, a village to the east of *Daḷa* in Lower Burma. If he was a Mon by race, which is not unlikely, it is important to note that Mon still remained teachers and advisers at the Court of Pagan when the tendency at that time was to forget the Mon influence. We know more about the reign of this king than of his predecessors.

In the rebellion in the early years of his reign when his halfbrothers *Singhapicāñ* and *Pyamkhi* rebelled,⁷ and his younger son *Klacwā* sided with his enemies, the king had to depend largely on the services of his five ministers to quell it. When the trouble was over, he pardoned his son and the son of *Pyamkhi* and to his five ministers he gave each seven hundred pay of land as *ray chu* – the reward for valour. They were *Asaṅkhyā*, *Anantasū*, *Asawat*, *Rājasāṅkramā* and *Caturāṅgasū*.⁸ Probably, *Pyamkhi*'s son surrendered to *Asaṅkhyā* because, it was the latter who brought the rebel prince back to Pagan and it was to him that the king gave all the former slaves of that prince. The minister *Anantasū* was the *Mahāsenāpati* – Commander-in-Chief, of *Nātoṇmyā*. He and his wife built the Laymyakhna pagoda, Minnanthu, Pagan and left a great number of inscriptions recording their deeds of merit. One of these inscriptions⁹ records a law suit concerning slaves and tells us an interest-

1. Pl. 90

2. Pl. 90

3. Tentatively, the name *Htilominlo* is the corruption of *Tilomaṅguir* which also is possibly derived from *Tailokluhoḥbuil* (Pl. 342, Pl. 367b⁷). See above p. 17, n. 3

4. Pl. 364, Pl. 421⁶, Pl. 78b⁹, Pl. 90¹, Pl. 123³, Pl. 190a¹²

5. Pl. 312. Identical with the title of *Cañsū I*

6. Pl. 63a²⁻³, 13-14

7. Pl. 421⁴, Pl. 186¹¹

8. Pl. 421⁷, Pl. 190a¹²

9. Pl. 78b. See also Chapter X

ing story of how slaves were bought and sold or given away to settle debts. Another of his inscriptions¹ mentioned the procedure of an appeal court which was called *Atam tryā*. The appeal court judges mentioned in it were *Cañsaphaṇ Mlat*, *Baccrapatiy*, *Patañṣā* and *Mahāway*. They were officially called *sañphama* i.e. judges, as distinct from ministers and governors. The minister *Asawat* (?*Aśvatthāma*) was in his civil duties, the *aklam tañ so mañ ama*² – Royal Registrar. His wife built a *kū* – hollow pagoda, in 1236 to commemorate his death and dedicated slaves to it. The reverse face of the inscription³ recording this dedication has a detailed account of the building-costs⁴ which gives us comparative prices of the commodities in the Pagan period. The minister *Rājasāṅkram*⁵ was a prominent judge of *Nātoṇmyā*'s reign. The chronicles regarded him as the cause of *Tarukpliy* being made king in 1256, superseding his elder brother.⁶ But we do not know how far it is true. It seems that *Rājasāṅkram* became the chief minister during the reigns of *Nātoṇmyā*'s successors. The minister *Caturāṅgasū* was also a judge and his associate judges were *Mahāsaman*, *Kaṅkaphiraṇ*, *Atūlaṇṣawir* and *Nāriṇṭasū*.⁷ Another important officer of the reign was *Sambyaṇ Jeyyapwat* (*Jayapavattati*) who built the *Zeyaput* pagoda, East Pwazaw, Pagan and the inscription of that pagoda⁸ gives the exact dates of the accession of *Nātoṇmyā* and *Klacwā*, which were S. 573 waxing 10 of *Tāauslaṇ*, Thursday (18 August 1211) and S. 597 Waxing 4 of *Namkā*, Thursday (19 July 1235) respectively. This inscription also gives another four associate officers of *Jeyyapwat*, viz. *Satyā*, *Caṅkray*, *Krammaphat* and *Siri Indrapicaṇ*. *Narasīṅha Uccanā* was *Nātoṇmyā*'s successor.

Nātoṇmyā was succeeded in 1231 by his elder son *Narasīṅha Uccanā*, whose regnal title was *Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarāja jadānapati* – The Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law, King of Kings, Lord of Charity.⁹ *Narasīṅha Uccanā* had probably two queens and they were Queen *Cāw* and Queen *Phwā Jaw*. Queen *Cāw* had two sons *Sīṅhapati* and *Tryāphyā*¹⁰ and probably a daughter *Acaw Lat*. The North *Kūṇi* inscription (1241) records the meritorious deed done by Queen *Cāw*, the wife of *Narasīṅha Uccanā* and the mother of Prince *Sīṅhapati* and Prince *Tryāphyā*.¹¹ *Acaw Lat* wife of *Jeyyasaddhiy* who served as minister to the king was probably her third child. She left an inscription dated S. 623 Waxing 5 of *Mlwaytā* (3 August 1261) which is of immense historical value.¹² Because of this inscription, we are able to say that *Nātoṇmyā* was succeeded by *Narasīṅha Uccanā* and not by *Klacwā* directly as the chronicles say.¹³ It was written thus:

|| Śrī Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja mañ so maṅkrī sā im rhiy mañ *Narasīṅha*

1. Pl. 79b¹⁷. See below p. 44 and Chapter III

2. Pl. 96⁶

3. Pl. 97

4. See *JBRs*, XXX, p. 327, n. 105

5. Pl. 371a⁵

6. *Hmannan*, para. 147; *GPC*, pp. 158-60

7. Pl. 125a²⁻⁴

8. Pl. 90^{1,15}

9. Pl. 138¹, Pl. 568b⁵⁻⁶

10. *Trāyphyā* probably means *Dhammarāja* – the Lord of Law. In the post-Pagan period, it became so popular that many kings were called by that name.

11. Pl. 138^{2,3}

12. Pl. 200

13. *Hmannan*, para. 145; *GPC*, pp. 154-5. See also *JBRs*, XXII, ii, pp. 100-2

*Uccanā samī Acaw Lat mañ so mañsami nhañ amatyā krī phlac tha so Jayyasaddhiy mañ so dāyakā moñ nham 2 yok sañ || chanawuti rogā || kuiw chay khrok pā so anā || hattinsakammā || krammā 32 || pañcavisati bhayā || bhuīy 25 pā || iy mñya so bhuīy anā || samisara' chuiw nray khapañ khluṇ rā arap phlac tha so sabbañu purhā chu kuiw ra khlyañ so kroñ ||*¹

Princes *Acaw Lat*, daughter of *Nāraṅgha Uccanā* who was son and Heir Apparent of the great king *Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarāja* (i.e. *Nātoṇmyā*) and her husband *Jeyyasaddhiy*, the great minister - these donors husband and wife desire the boon of *sabbaññutañāna* - Buddhahood, which is the end of *samsara* and all the miseries like 96 diseases, 32 causes of evil and 25 calamities.

Another important queen of *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* was *Phwā Jaw*. In the Minwaing inscription (1272)² she called herself the daughter-in-law of *Nātoṇmyā*³ but she did not mention the name of her husband. He could have been either *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* or *Klacwā*. When sharing the merit of her good deed said:

|| i suiw lhyañ nā plu so koñmhu akluiw kā || riy mliy khapsim so askhiñ phlac tha so mlat cwā so nā lañ skhiñ mañkri || nā sā mañkri || nā mliy mañkri || i mañkri suñ yok ca so noñ lā lat so mañ khapsim le nā atū ra ciy sate ||

The reward of the good deeds thus done by me - may my most excellent husband lord the king, lord of the water and land; my son the king; my grandson the king - may these three kings and all the kings to come hereafter, get it equally with me.⁴

Definitely, her son the king and her grandson the king were *Uccanā* and *Tarukplyi*. She mentioned *Klacwā* in her inscription⁵ but not as her husband and from other inscriptions⁶ we have the name of the queens of the *Klacwā*. She was not among them. Therefore her husband the king most probably was *Narasiṅgha Uccanā*. Thus, *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* was succeeded by his younger brother *Klacwā* with whom he had shared his merit on making a dedication on S. 593 Waning 1 of *Plasuiw*⁷ (11 December 1231).

Klacwā became king on S. 597 Waxing 4 of *Namkā*, Thursday⁸ (19 July 1235). He was also known as *Çaw Kri*.⁹ We do not know the name of *Klacwā*'s mother. She died when he was very young. The *Laymyakhna* inscription (1253)¹⁰ set up by his aunt says:

|| Sakarac 597 khu || Āsin nhac Namkā la chan 4 ryak Krāssapatii niy || Klacwā mañ rhyu toñ tak pri || nā mi kuiw kā nā ma si luik || nā mithuy muy ruy nā kri

1. Pl. 200¹⁻⁶

2. Pl. 234 & 235

3. Pl. 234³⁸

4. Pl. 235¹⁰⁻¹¹

5. Pl. 234^{26,28,32}

6. Pl. 246², Pl. 273²⁰

7. Pl. 671-2

8. Pl. 90¹⁴⁻¹⁵, Pl. 181¹

9. Pl. 234^{28,32}

10. Pl. 181¹⁻⁴

e, nā mithuy lhyān te nā mi e, hu ruy || im plu niy piy e, || im thoñ kywan lay le piy taw mū e, ||

On 19 July 1235 *Klacwā* ascended the golden mountain. "I never knew my mother. My aunt brought me up and so I grew. Truly my aunt has been a mother to me." So saying, he built a house and gave it to me to live in. He also gave me household slaves and rice fields.

This aunt built a hollow pagoda and dedicated the slaves and lands given to her by the king to that pagoda in 1253. The house he gave was also turned into a monastery. It is a mystery still why *Singhapati* and *Tryāphyā*, the two sons of *Narasiṅha Uccanā* by his chief queen, were ousted from the succession by *Klacwā* and why the succession reverted to the older branch of the royal family on the death of *Klacwā*. Probably the sons of *Narasiṅha Uccanā* were too young when their father died and therefore their uncle was made king. But there must have been a sort of agreement between the two branches that after *Klacwā* the succession should revert to the older branch.¹ It seems that there was some opposition to *Klacwā*'s succession. The Minwaing inscription² records a rebellion in the year following his accession. It says:

|| Sakarac 598 khu || Kratuik nhac Mlwaytā la chan nā ryak Tannhañkanuy niy || Sirivadhañā plac sa rhawackuiw Siṅghāpikram plac pā e, || atuiw Skhiñ Cawkrī Kwan Prok Nay nhuik niy taw mū so Siṅghāpikram mayā min e, || atuiw kywan lan Pukam sā || niy ra ciy la siy || nā kywan || lay || uyan kā skhiñ yu ciy khlyān hu min e, || min taw mū piy raka Pukam niy ra e, ||

On 9 June 1236 when *Sirivadhañā* sinned (i.e. rebelled), his elder brother *Siṅghāpikram* was involved in the sin. Our Lord *Caw Krī* (i.e. *Klacwā*) was sitting in the *Kwan Prok Nay* - the Small Variagated Hall, when the wife of *Siṅghāpikram* said: "Your servant's husband - let him, I pray, be allowed to remain here at Pagan. My slaves, paddy lands and gardens - I would ask my lord to take them." (The king) allowed *Siṅghāpikram* to remain at Pagan (but confiscated his estates).

Another inscription³ mentions that two monks were involved in a rebellion against *Klacwā*. This is the only instance we have in the inscriptions of our period of monks getting mixed up in politics.⁴ The king also had some trouble with the monks in a land dispute.

Klacwā probably was very much annoyed by the loss of revenue owing to a great increase of religious lands and therefore an attempt to confiscate the religious lands was one of the first measures he took after his accession. The Zayaput inscription says:

|| Sakarac 597 khu || Āsin nhac || Namkā la chan 4 ryak Krāsapaty niy ā || mañkri sā mañ Klacwā rhuy toñ tak ruy || akriy añā nhuik te mahādān mliy khapsin yū lat te || 5

On 19 July 1235 the great king's son Prince *Klacwā* ascended the golden mountain and after that *mahādāna* lands of up-stream and down-stream he took.

1. There was no rigid law for succession but usually the eldest son of the chief queen succeeded to the throne. There were however many exceptions.

2. Pl. 23431-4

3. Pl. 10224-6

4. See below Chapter VII for details.

5. Pl. 9015-16

In the course of this measure he confiscated the *Hañ Ram Pa-ak* lands dedicated by *Sambyañ Jayapavattati* to a forest monastery. The monks raised an objection and therefore he had to appoint a commission to look into the matter. The commission reported that the monks were right and therefore the king had to re-dedicate the *Hañram Pa-ak* lands to the monastery. Anyhow by this confiscation many *pay* of land were lost to the Religion for ever. But tradition required *Klacwā* to make dedications of land etc. during his lifetime and therefore some would be undoubtedly restored to the Religion. *Klacwā* made a big dedication immediately after his accession.¹ He even gave a hundred *pay* of land to the Brahmans who probably conducted his coronation.¹ It was in his reign perhaps between 1237 and 1248 that the monks *Subūticanda* and *Dhammasiri* went over to Ceylon for educational purposes.² Possibly a religious purification movement started after their return from Ceylon. The most important minister of the reign was *Mahāsamanta*³ who was the chief minister as well as the viceroy of the northern part of Burma. He was sometimes called the Viceroy of *Koncañ*⁴ as he had to take charge of the *Koncañ* area (near Bhamo) which was probably the northernmost part of the Burmese empire. *Klacwā* also tried to improve administration and ensure peace in his kingdom.

Towards the end of the reign *Klacwā* issued an edict against all malefactors dated 6 May 1249⁵ and he decreed that his edict must be written on stone pillars and every village with more than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of these edict pillars have been discovered. Perhaps there were more than eleven but not so many as the king originally intended. The reason for this may have been that he died before the completion of his orders and that his control of outlying districts was weak. The promulgation of the edict against all malefactors is almost an admission of the general prevalence of unrest. His confiscation of the glebe lands was probably one of the causes of dissatisfaction in the country. The reconstructed text of this edict is given below.⁶

|| o || Sakarac 611 khu Mruikkasuir samwachuir || Kuchum la chut 87 ryak
 Krāsapattiy niy || Mākha naksat || Methun lak || 5 nā rī pri || atuiw purhā Caw
 Krī Skhiñ Śrī Triphavanātittiyāpavarapañḍitadhammarāja mañ so purhā rhañ taw ||
 rhiy⁸ thuy taw || nañ alwam so sū mya takā tuiw || ū sā thak ā || tañ lhā lañ ||
 nañ lū myā takā tuiw || i lū twañ so khyamāsā tamunwan so khyamāsā kuiw luiw so sū
 kā || i nā cakā kuiw ruiw siy so | yum so mū ruy | lha ma cok nā thoñ ruynā ap e, ||
 aphay kroñ nhe hū mū kā || akrañ kroñ || iñ nā cakā kā | mimi kuiw prañā phlañ |
 krañ ruy chuiw so ma chuiw so ma hut cwañ || mlat cwa so purhā skhiñ sabbāñū
 cakā kuiw mhi ruy chuiw sate ||

rhiy lwan so mañ tuiw kā || khuw cā so sū tuiw kuiw kā || tamklañ lhuw so ka
 ca so athū thū so sat khrañ phlañ | sat kun e, || thuiw suiw so sattawā takā tuiw

1. Pt. 102¹⁸

2. See below Chapter VIII for details.

3. Pl. 85²⁴, Pl. 90²⁰, Pl. 102⁷, Pl. 125a³

4. Pl. 158²⁰⁻¹

5. The date of the pillars are not all uniform. Some are dated S. 611 Waxing 9 of *Kuchun* (22 April 1149), and some are dated S. 611 Waning 3 of *Kuchun* (1 May 1249).

6. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 167-9, Pl. 170, Pl. 173-4, Pl. 343 and Pl. 345ab are all edict pillars and an almost complete text has been reconstructed out of them by Professor G.H. Luce. See also *JBR*, XXVI, i, p. 70

7. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 167, Pl. 168-9 have *chan* 9; Pl. 170 has *chut* 3.

8. Pl. 166ab & Pl. 168-9 have *hū*; Pl. 170 has *rhiy*; Pl. 171-2 & Pl. 173 have *hu ruy*.

e / apyak aci kuiw ma luiw so kroñ / sattawā takā tuiw kuiw || mimi sa kay suiw / ok miy lat ruy || krunā sañ tuik lai ruy || chuiw so cakā te || thuiw kroñ rakā / ruiw siy so yuñ so mū ruy / lha ma cok nā thoñ ruy nā ap e hū so te || asuiw mū ruy nā ciy su nhe / o, i mañkrī kā || mimi kuiw prañā phlañ kram ruy chuiw so ma hut takā || mlat cwā so purhā sakhiñ || sabbañu cakā kuiw / mhi ruy chuiw so cakā te || i nā cakā kuw luik mūkā / i lū twañ so khyamāsā || tamunwan so khyamāsā kuiw ma lway ra lyañ so tū kāl || i suiw nhac lum mū ruy nā ap e ||

i mhya so-khuiw ca kun so sū tuiw sañ kā / khyamāsā ra am sate hū ruy khuiw ca kun so te || ayañ tuiw / khyamāsā ra nuiw so sañkā / sū rhok sū rwā sū miyā sū sā / sū utcā / apyak aci / anuiñ athak mu ra so kuiw khyamāsā nuiw pan kyañ so te || thuiw khyamāsā hū2 so sañ-kā / kuiw sat l (a) lam so khyamāsā te / thuiw kā khyamāsā te ra e' lo / apyak aci kuiw te rok e'3 lo || thuiw le nañ tuiw kram kun (ap e,) ||

khuiw ca so sū tuiw sañ kā / mi lat so le / tamklañ lhyuiw so / ran puchiñ nahan pok so / samkrap nahan kan so / a - ū nut so / apoñ alak phay so / myak chan thwac so / asā lhi ruy cā piy lā so / ariy chwac ruy (s)ā mā so / thip thwañ ruy chi pū swan so / lañ rhuy mlup ruy thwan4 so / puyan cañ ruy chan nañ ciy so / sacpañ phak ciy ruy tamisañ nhac so / a(rhañ ma mluk) so / lañ phrat so || i y suiw so ka ca saphlañ ayañ tuiw kā chuiw nray kri ārok kun so te || ma mi so krā le / i p so / niy so / ryap so / swā so ka ca saphlañ le || ta ciy sa lhyañ le ayañ tuiw kā ma khyamāsā cwam te || krok lan lyak lhyañ ayañ tuiw kā kham ce kun sa5 te || im nkuik le ma niy cwam / niy pū muiw rwā lhyañ kyañ so te / ma khuiw cā so sū tuiw sañ lhyañ le / bhuīy 1 khu khu te rok lat mūkā || im twañ lhyāñ niy kyañ6 mū le / nahanlum kā / chuiw nray kri cwā so mat lo7 || khuiw cā so sū tuiw sañ kā / aphay hu khi lip nhe / yakhañ acan can ka khuiw cā so sū tuiw sañ kā ta yok tañ lhyañ le lwat e hū so sañ kā ma hiy phū || krā cwā achum kā / nahan nhac sum nhac mruik kā / ma krā phū ma lo || i y cakā kā yakhu (chuiw) sā ma hut / trya twañ le i y suiw min e,8 || siy lyaw ruy khuiw cā so sū kā / nray kri prittā asūrā tiritchan apay 4 pā so sañ kā ayañ khuiw sū9 im lhyañ mañ e, || siy lhyañ rok liy tum tum te hiy e, || ma siy mi lhyañ10 le / pham mi lhyañ / sū khuiw hū ruy11 / mañ nhup lat e, || mañ le / cam ta lam / khuiw so hū amañ ma tañ mū ruy || khuiw mhū chan krañ so sū kuiw piy 2 e, || thuiw sū tuiw le cit ciy miy e,12 || khuiw so ma hut cañ mū kā / lhwat e, || khuiw sa hut cañ mū kā / amunwan cā kuiw phat ciy e / amunwan cā twañ akrañ sū khuiw sañ / i mañ so / aplac te phlac mū kā / i mañ so13 tan piy te piy ap e, hū piy e, || mañ sū khuiw

1. Pl. 170 has *am so hut tā*.
2. Pl. 166ab and Pl. 168-9 have *hut*.
3. Pl. 168-9 and Pl. 170 have *kun*.
4. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have *tuik*.
5. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have *hi*.
6. Pl. 168-9 and Pl. 170 omit *kyañ*; Pl. 166ab has *salyak*.
7. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have *rok e*.
8. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have *piy ma lo*.
9. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have *sukhuiw*.
10. Pl. 170 omits *lhyāñ*.
11. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9 omit *ruy*.
12. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have *cat ruy*.
13. Pl. 170 has merely *amunwan cā kulw krañ ruy tan piy te*.

aplac nħan ĩ munwan cā kuiw nuiñ kram̃ ruy / thuiw aplac nħan tañ ap so tan kuiw mū e,¹ || ĩy kã mañ ta kã amunwan hut-tã ||

khuĩw sũ tuiw sañ kã ĩ lũ twañ le athũ thũ so sat khrañ ā rok kun e || asuiw sat khrañ nhe hũ mū kã ariy² nay sam̃ chũ tap ruy khat so | achũ hiy so krim lum̃ nħan khat so | nã lĩ so | nhã khoñ lĩ so | khriy lak phrat so || thip thwañ ruy sam̃ pũ ray ray thañ ruy | ũ nok kluik 2 chũ lyak siy so | kham̃ twañ kan phi³ ruy chimi ñhi so ch(am̃) yok (rã) ariy ryam̃ ruy cham̃ choñ ñan phi ruy ũ riy chwac pri so ũ khoñ khwañ kħlañ sam̃ lħañ kan nħan khat so | lakway pukhum̃ | lakyã pukhum̃ ok suiw puchac kan ariy chwac phi ruy ok so ariy kã (a)khriy suiw khla e⁴ | athak so ariy kã ũ khoñ suiw lĩ lay so | ariy khapañ chwac pri so kã atwañ riy kã apa suiw thã ruy lħwañ so (| m̃)iy ñhap nham̃ ariy kuiw katkriy nħan ryan so || asã hiy rã | khit ruy lĩ so || lak tan toñ rhiy phrat so⁵ | khriy puchac rhuy phrat so | sam̃ khwã .1 khu cwap ruy twã ciy so | acoñ ĩp ciy ruy nã twañ tam̃sañ nak so⁶ || khriy 2 phak sum̃ ruy pai 2 lħeñ so tũ nħan (n)u(p) 2 thũ ruy | kuiw khapsim̃ uĩw kħyañ suiw khuy bhi ruy lħeñ so | ariy kuiw sañ thum nħan cat ruy | sam̃parã chã plã reñ swan so | arħañ lħyañ khuĩy (cã) ciy so | lañ phrat so | kuiw lak (kħap) an amhuik rec ruy mi phut so || ĩ suiw so sat khrañ sañ kun e, ||

thuiw mruiw tamunwan le | Tãpana mañ so ñray kriñ nhuik le kyak kun e, || thuiw (ñray kã) kuiw alum̃ lħyañ [atwañ apa (ñray cit) plañ lyak] tok (tha) su te || ayañ tuiw kã mi acã phlac (tha) su te || niy ña atuiñ (chañ ñray) kun (rã e, || ĩ s)uiw klw(i)y (tha) sate (|) ñray asak mlañ khrañ kã ñray asak (h)ũ kũ anħac ta sin te lũ nhac phlañ twak [tum̃] mūkã akutiya ta ... nhac hiy e, | khuĩw ca lyak e, ma khuĩw (ca yo)ñ mū so sũkhuĩw kham̃ khrañ kã | lũ phlac ruy | am̃i wam̃ twañ thwak sa kã | lañ ma mrañ ra mu ruy siy so kã tac kam̃phã lħyañ kham̃ te | tac kam̃phã kham̃ pri ruy | lũ phlac lyak rħañ tum̃ so le | kuiw nik-kã wat rum̃ cã rum̃ lħyañ mrai | chuiw ñray kriñ lħyañ phlac sate || uc(c)ã ra ñrã tum̃ le ayañ tuiw lak rwañ | akrañ akħrañ sañ phlañ (tañ) khlyañ so uccã sañ | ma tañ cim so ñhã⁷ || lħiy mlok so || ĩm loñ so || ka ca sa phlañ phuiy nħan 2 phlac⁸ e || khuĩw ca so ayañ kroñ kã | taminnwan so chuiw ñray kriñ rok bri ruy || tamunwan so kh(yam̃ sã) || ĩ lũ twañ so kyam̃(sã) ra kroñ aphay (nhe hu) mu kã || akrañ kroñ (hũ e ĩ ñã cakã) mi 2 kuw prañã phlañ kram̃ ruy chuiw so ma hut cwam̃⁹

.....(cha)y
kruiy chay | su khlaw saphlañ lañkoñ | su ta . . s(ã) lum̃ la saphlañ lañkoñ | tryã sa
phlañ | asak (muy ap) e | ĩ suiw kyañ mukã | ĩ lũ twañ cañcim kħyañsã khway wa

1. Pl. 170 omits this sentence mañ sũ khuĩw...tan kuiw mū e.

2. Pl. 170 has sariy.

3. Pl. 163-9, Pl. 170 have kat.

4. Pl. 170 has ok so ariy ka thak so lĩ lĩ e.

5. Pl. 170 has atwañ riy, kã apa suiw tha ruy || lħwañ so, ariy kuiw kat kriy nħan ryan sate || asã hiy rã || khit ruy lħwañ sate || lak tanton rhway phat so |

6. Pl. 168-9 & 170 have ruy.

7. Pl. 166ab & 170 have ruy.

8. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 170 have kri sañ rok kun.

9. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 170 omit so kħyañsã...ma hut cwam̃.

so phlac am̄ sate | alhū le piy ap e | satañ le sum̄ ap e |ap e /
 thuiw suiw mu pri ū kā | tamunwan nhuik
k le | Sakrā mañ cañcim | ma lway ra lim sate | tamunwan so
 || i lū twañ so || cañcim khyam̄sā ra am̄ so kroñ kā | khiw so akyāñ | ma kyañ ap |
 koñ so akyāñ kā kyañ ap e

i suiw nā mu koñmhu kluiw kā | niyrapan paccañ le phlac ciy sate | sattwā takā
 le khyam̄sā ciy sate | muiw liy le koñ le ciy sate prañ tay le khyam̄sā ciy sate |

444 klokē iuiñ chok s(ā) kā niy kyan le phway | tañchoñ plu | pitan chañ cwā kri
 cut | ta rwā ma lwat chok ciy te | rwā ñay cwā achum̄ kā a-im̄ (50) y(hu)y chok ciy te
 ta la ma lwat la plañ satañ niy nhuik rwā sūrok sūkrī rwā sañ khapañ ra so tanchā
 chañ lyak pok 2 tanchōñ (pantōñ) kawthā nhañ pucaw | cañ pasā le ti | i (suiw mū ru)y
 klok cā tuñ cā kuiw nā ciy kun sate chok (ū) so (purhā Cawkri) cwā mū ciy sate cā
 phat sa sū le (ryā)...tanchā chañ ruy [pha]t ciy sate tuñ ma hiy so rwā ñay rhok
 ñay tuñ pañ khaw ruy | tuñ hiy rā suiw nā pā ciy-kun (e ||)

On Thursday 6 May 1249 our lord Cawkri (i.e. Klacwā whose regnal name is)
Sri Triphavanātittyāpavarapañḍitadharmarāja ordained thus. Those desiring
 prosperity in this life and in lives hereafter should obey my words with respect and
 belief and listen attentively. Because I do not speak in my own words or wisdom
 but I speak after the words of the most excellent and omniscient Lord.

Kings of the past punished thieves by divers tortures starting with impaling. I
 desire no such destruction. I consider all beings as my own children and with
 compassion towards all, I speak these words. That is why I say that my words should
 be obeyed with intense reverence. Listen to my words with attention because they are
 spoken after the words of the most excellent Lord. Obedience will give one
 prosperity in this life and in lives hereafter without fail. With attention listen!

Do those who live by thieving think that they gain this way? They acquire
 prosperity by destroying other people's villages, wives, children, goods and chattels.
 Gains thus acquired will be the very cause of their own destruction in the end. Do
 consider whether these acts are really beneficial or not.

When caught a thief is to be punished with one or the other of these punishments.
 He is impaled. His berast is split open with the axe. He is roasted. His in-
 testines are taken out. His legs and limbs are cut off. His eyes are taken out.
 Patches of his flesh are taken off. He is skinned and smeared with salt. His skull
 is split open and boiling oil poured in. He is buried in the earth up to the neck
 and a plough driven over him. He is skewered to the ground and trodden over
 by elephants. He is pinned alive to a tree. He is buried alive. He is beheaded.
 Under such tortures he experiences great misery. Even if he goes scot-free he
 cannot have peace of mind while sleeping, living, standing, going, etc. He does not
 prosper even in the least degree. He lives in constant terror. He becomes an
 outlaw and thus he cannot have proper shelter from sun and rain. Even those who
 live peacefully at home suffer a lot when they are sick, the misery of this home-
 less man when sick would be unthinkable. No thief has ever escaped punishment

until now. Perhaps, he manages to evade the law for two or three years but in the end he is caught and punished. He can never escape. According to "the Law", after death, four *apāya* viz. *niraya*, *tiracchāna*, *peta* and *asura* will be his abode. There can be no alternative. Before death, when caught, a thief is brought before the king who asks his judges to try him. If the verdict is not guilty, he goes free. If found guilty, *amunwan* - Criminal Code, are referred to. Punishment varies with the nature of the offence and he suffers according to the degree of his crime. This is the way of all kings.

The thief shall suffer various tortures such as being flogged with a leather strap with iron thorns; being beaten with a cane with thorns; having his ears and nose cut off; having his legs and limbs torn off; having his skull trepanned and molten iron poured in so that the brains boiled like porridge; having his mouth fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside; being skinned in strips from the neck to the hips, so that the skin falls in strips round the legs; being skinned alive from the neck downwards and having each strip of skin as soon as removed tied by the hair so that these strips form a veil around him; having bits cut out of the flesh all over the body; being horse-shoed and made to walk; having the head nailed to the ground by a spike through both ear-holes and then being dragged round and round by the legs; being pounded till the whole body is as soft as a straw mattress; having the body curled into a bundle and chopped to piece; having cuts made all over the body and salt or alkali rubbed into the gashes; having bits of flesh cut off while alive and given to the dogs; being beheaded and being wrapped with rubbish and baked alive. These are the punishments that a thief has to suffer.

Besides, in the next existence, he will be cooked in the *Tapano* hell. In this hell, the whole body, both inside and outside is burnt all day and night without intermission for one hundred thousand years which is the equivalent of ten millions and . . . years of our human world. When born to mankind again, he is born blind, and will live in great poverty. Great calamities will frequently visit him. I speak these words Thus it is essential to lead a good life. As a reward, one will enjoy wealth and prosperity. Make donations and practice piety. In the next existence In order to get prosperity, one should not steal but live a life of goodness.

May this good deed be an attribute to the attainment of *nirvana*. May all beings enjoy prosperity. May the rain and wind be also good. May the capital be prosperous.

444 inscription stones must be made. A pavilion is to be built (to shelter each inscription) placed under a grand canopy. All villages without exception must have these inscriptions. Villages having more than 50 houses must have this inscription set up. On full moon days, all villagers must assemble round this pillar with music and offerings. The village headman must wear his ceremonial robe and read aloud this inscription before the assembly. People from small villages where there are no

such pillars must come to a nearby big village to listen to the reading of this inscription.

Probably *Klacwā* copied and translated the relevant portions of the punishments from the sacred texts such as the *Majjhima Nikāya*¹, the *Anguttara Nikāya*² and the *Milinda Pañṇā*³. Contrast this *Klacwā* who translated such horrifying tortures with the picture given by the chronicles⁴ of a devout king translating the *Paramatthabindu*. It is more than likely that he had no intention of being so cruel but that he was trying to frighten them into goodness. With this threat, *Klacwā* intended to keep law and order in his realm. He probably died soon after this edict because we would have had more of these edict pillars if he had lived longer to execute his plan to its fullest extent. His successor *Uccanā*⁵ obviously did not intend to continue his good work.

Uccanā who succeeded in 1249 was *Klacwā*'s nephew. He was the son of *Narasingha Uccanā* and Queen *Phwā Jaw*. His regnal title was *Śrī Tribhavanadityadhammarājajayavarā*. He married *Sumilūla*, the daughter of *Klacwā*.⁶ He also married the daughter of a *turner* and the son of this union later became king *Tarukplyi*. *Uccanā* ruled until 1256 when:

... *Uccanā mañ akriy lā kha ruy Tala lhyān pyam tau mū liy kun e*,⁷

King *Uccanā* came downstream and he (together with his retinue) passed away
(? was massacred) at *Tala*.⁸

Therefore *Uccanā* was also known as *Talapyaṃ Mañ*⁹ - the king who died at *Dala*. He was succeeded by his son *Mañ Yan*.

Mañ Yan's reign was extremely short. This *Mañ Yan* was given precedence over *Tarukplyi*; probably he was *Sumilūla*'s son. It seems that he was also assassinated. The *Shinbinbodhi* inscription¹⁰ records the gifts made by *Mañ Yan* to his nurse *I Poñ Sañ* and it goes on to state that after *Mañ Yan*'s death his successor King *Cañsū* (i.e. *Tarukplyi*), confirmed his elder brother's gifts to *I Poñ Sañ* who was his nurse too. Unfortunately, that is all we practically know of *Mañ Yan*. Now we come to the last king of the *Pagan* dynasty.

Mañ Yan was succeeded by *Tarukplyi*¹¹ in 1256. The accession is recorded as follows.

1. Lord Chalmers: *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, pp. 61-2

2. F. L. Woodward: *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, Vol. I, pp. 42-3

3. T.W. Rhys Davids: *The Question of King Milinda*, pp. 276-8

4. *Hmannan*, para. 145; *GPC*, p. 155

5. *PI*, 164¹⁻²

6. *PI*, 158¹⁴

7. *PI*, 158¹⁸. See also *PI*, 296⁵

8. The word *kun* signifies plural and therefore he was not the only one to be killed there. The chronicles mentioned that he was killed in an elephant hunt at *Dala* (*Hmannan*, para. 146; *GPC* p. 158.)

9. *PI*, 296¹

10. *PI*, 218a². See also *PI*, 219b²

11. *PI*, 233¹¹

// Sakarac 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapon l-chañ 13 ryak 5 niy Talapyam Mañ Phon Chañ Pañ klī mliyi yū tau mū rakā ... thuiw yū sa nhac akriy Tala lā rā'pyam taw mū liy e' sā Panpwatsaṇ Mliyi rhuy toñ ra liy e rhuy toñ ra pri Pukam rok lat te rok pri so khā Sakarac 618 khu Asat nhac Namiyun la twañ ratanā sum pā rhiy niy ruy...¹

On 8 February 1256, Talapyam Mañ confiscated the Phon Chañ land at Pañklī (in the Chindwin area.) In that year of confiscation, (Ucaanā) went downstream to Tala and died there. (His) son Panpwatsaṇ Mliyi - the grandson of the turner-received the golden mountain, he reached Pagan. After arriving there, in (May) 1256 he appeared before the Three Gems (and returned the lands to the monks).

When Ucaanā went downstream to Dala early in 1256, he probably left Mañ Yan at the capital to look after the affairs of state and when he died, Mañ Yan became king but through some court intrigue he was removed and Panpwat Sañ Mliyi finally became king.² Then he came back to Pagan. In May 1356 he was already in Pagan carrying out his kingly duties. In about November 1256, he was crowned king.³ Although he was popularly known by the name of Tarukpli - the king who fled from the Taruk, the name that he received after the 1287 Mongol invasion, he was called Panpwat Sañ - the Turner - after his maternal grandfather or Ucaanā⁴ as his father was known or Cañsu⁵ as most of the kings of Pagan would like to be called after their famous ancestor Cañsu I. He built a pagoda in memory of his grandfather and therefore he was also known as Panpwat puthiwiw tau dāyakā⁶ - the donor of the Turner's pagoda. His aunt Arī Caw described him as:

// asariy hiy so purhā tryā sañghā ratauā sum pā sa nuih // ruiw siy mlat cwā so // cuiw sā mañsā amātyā buil pā chañ phlū ca so ratanā khu nhac pā skhiñ phlac so klwan 4 klwan thwan so niy kay suiw ahin jaw aroñ awā tok pa cwā so asariy hiy so // Śrī Tribhuvanadityapavaradhammarājā mañ so // tryā mañ ...⁷

The just king Śrī Tribhuvanadityapavaradhammarājā, the Glorious, who reveres and honours the Three Gems of the Lord, the Law and the Order, who is the Lord of the Seven Gems such as the sons of administrators, the sons of the kings, the ministers, and followers and the white elephant, and who shines with colour, fame and influence like the sun that shines over the four islands . . .

Apart from this panegyric we know very little about him. We are therefore neither able to support or refute what the chronicles say about his being gluttonous, vain and oppressive and about the Mon rebellion in lower Burma during his reign. It is fortunate for students of history that there is an inscription which tells us part of the story of the Mongol invasion⁸ during Tarukpli's reign.

1. Pl. 2964-7

2. The story given in the chronicles is that at Dala hunting lodge Ucaanā was killed by a must elephant and though Panpwatsaṇ Mliyi was a junior son of the deceased, the great minister Yazathingyan removed the rightful heir and placed him on the throne (*Hmannan*, para. 147; *GPC*, pp. 158-9).

3. Pl. 186⁸

4. Pl. 296⁵

5. Pl. 218a⁵

6. Pl. 1582-4

7. Pl. 24918-19

8. Pl. 2711-37. For translation see also *JBR*, XXVI, i, pp. 53-4.

Before we discuss the *Disāprāmuk* inscription on the 1285 peace mission, we will relate very briefly why the Mongols appeared on the scene.¹ The trouble with the Mongols dated back to 1271 when the Yunnan government under instructions from the emperor sent envoys to Pagan demanding tribute. The envoys were not admitted into the king's presence and after much delay they went back carrying no tribute but only friendly words. Frontier tribes on the north of Burma resented the spread of the Burmese power to their areas and requested the Chinese to stop it. The Burmans invaded their land in 1272. On 3 March 1273, an imperial ambassador with three colleagues appeared again at the court of Pagan. They never returned to China. The chronicles admit that all of them were executed by the king's order in spite of the minister Anantapyissi's remonstrances that "the kings of old were never wont to kill ambassadors."² But it seems improbable that they were executed by the king's order. It is simple logic that if he had killed the Chinese envoys in 1273, he would not have taken the risk of sending his envoys to Peking in 1285. The Yunnan government in 1275 reported this to Peking together with an urgent plea for immediate war. Nothing however happened until April, 1277 when the Burmese proceeded to invade Kanngai on the Taiping river as the result of submission made by the chief of that state to China. This prompted retaliation from the Chinese side. The garrison under General Hu Tu at Tali received imperial orders for an expedition against the Burmese. A skirmish was fought by the side of a river and Marco Polo and others wrongly identified it as the battle of Ngasaunggyan³ where the Burmese lost. Towards the end of 1277, the Mongols again took the offensive but they withdrew soon. *Nāchoṅkhyam* being the northern most outpost of the Burmese, the minister *Intapaccarā* was sent there to strengthen its fortification. An inscription found at Minnanthu says:

// Sakarac 640 // Pisyak nhac // Intapacrā // mañ so amat kri sañ // mlat kri Mahā-kassāpa arap therā kloṇ ma hiy rakā / therā kloṇ phlac cim hu ruy ryañ e, / kloṇ kā ma plu ū / tantuiñ plū e, / tantuiñ le ma pri khay / Intapacrā le Nāchoṅkhyam mruw niy ra liy e' prañ tay pyak cī sa phlac khay e, // Sakarac 655 khu Sarawan nhac Tanchonmhun l-čan 5 ryāk 5 niy lhyāñ / amat kri Intapacrā plu ruy ma pri sa / therā kloṇ kuiw / Intapacrā smi nhañ / smak amat Puñā plu e, / tantuiñ le chan e, / 4

In the year 1278, the great minister called *Intapacrā* made preparations to construct a monastery for the *therā* because the *therā* of the Most Reverend *Mahākassapa*'s establishment had no monastery (of his own). Before the monastery was built, the enclosure wall was put up. Even this enclosure wall was not completed. *Intapacrā* (was sent) to the (?fort) of *Nāchoṅkhyam* (where) he lived (until) the destruction of (that recently) established *prañ*-province-occured. On 4 October 1293 the *therā*'s monastery which the great minister *Intapacrā* built and left unfinished was completed by *Intapacrā*'s daughter and son-in-law *Puñā* the minister.

1. For details see Claude de Visdelou: "Mémoires très intéressantes sur le Royaume de Mien", *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient*, II, 1883, pp. 72-88, (British Museum MS Add. 16913) and E. Huber: "La fin de la Dynastie de Pagan", *BEFEO*, IX, pp. 633-80.

2. *Hmannan*, para. 147; *GPC*, p. 173

3. For Marco Polo's account of this battle, see H. Yule: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, pp. 99-104; *The Travels of Marco Polo*, text by L. F. Benedetto, translation by Professor Aldo Ricci, 1950. pp. 198-200 and Harvey: *Burma*, pp. 65, 336-7.

4. *Pl.* 2771-9

Evidently the minister *Intapacrā* had chosen the wrong moment to do a meritorious deed. Before he completed building the monastery the Burmese invasion of Yunnan began and he was called away from the capital on military duty. It seems that from the time of *Caṅsū II* (1174-1211) Ngasaunggyan was the northern limit of the empire¹ and Kaungsin was the administrative centre for northern Burma.² *Intapacrā* must have been a worthy officer to have received the command of an important fort. Perhaps he died defending it when Mongols took it on 3 Dec. 1283. Kaungsin fell on 9 Dec. The Mongols penetrated as far as south to Tagaung which was captured in January 1284. Hence Upper Burma became a province of China called *Ch'eng-mien*. Then only was the king at Pagan convinced of the Mongol strength and the vulnerability of his capital. He decided to leave it and went to *Lhañkla* west of *Prañ* and sent the Reverend *Disāprāmuk* on a peace mission to Peking. For the following events it is best to quote *Disāprāmuk* himself.³

// namo tassa bhagawato arahato sammā saṃ boddhassa // Sakarac 647 khu
Mrik(kasui)w nhac // *Prañ anok phak Lhañkla nhuik mañkri niy thaw mū e'* //
Anantapiṇa Mahāpuw kuiw Taruk e' alālā kuiw si oñ mū liy hu ciy tau mū e' //
Ananta(pi)cañ Mahāpuw chuiw e' // i amhu kā kri cwā // tum ta pai le lhwat ra
sañ ma hi // suwa(nna)lip plu am sañ le ma hi // // Syañ Disāprāmuk te pā mū kā
amhu choñ am // (i) i suiw hu pan rakā // nā kuiw khaw ruy mañkri i amhu nhañ e' //
Taruk mañ chui(w) e' // i suwañnalip kā mañ lhwat e' sañ (ma hut // a)mat tuiw lhwat
lat so // (su)pañnalip takā // (i) sukhamin kā (mañ ciy).....lhwat te (hi) lhañ tha //
khaw (khliy) nā sukhamin mū am hu khaw e' // Pukam (mahārac kā // ma)ñ tuiw kā
tanman kuiw ma khyup ryā (sū) kuiw lhyañ nā tuiw tanman (mū) lhyañ (am hū) ruy //
suwañnalip plu ruy nā kuiw lhwat e' // (Ta)ruk prañ rok liy e' // Taruk mañ kā //
Pukam sui (puw) cim hu ruy // Susuttaki) mañ sā (su)ray 20000 // Pu(nādhā)-
mmikā mahāthi // (Śrī) Dhammikāsaṅghāthi // akloñ 70 kā Sañ(thwa)y Prañ rok
oñ lhyañ khla ruy niy ciy sate // (santhan) lā e' sañ nhañ añi (ra)c cīm hu
tan ciy sate // nā rok (li)y e' // thuiw nhuik tan lañ so syañ (tui)w sañ
nā kuiw lakchoñ laknak chak ruy i suiw chuiw lañ e' // nā syañ kui(w)te
mañ toñ tā cwa // mañ le saddhā cwa // Pukam sāsanā kuiw nā tuiw ma
plu ra kroñ chuiw phi la(t piy) // nā le // i Pukam niy so sūtuiw e' // ni(y)
rā kuiw lhwat phi ruy // (Yachañ) lhyañ (wā) chuiw (li)y e' // Tanchoñ-
mhun kā Tavtā tak liy e' // Plasuiw rok liy e' // Taruk mañ le nhac luiw cwā (hi ruy amiy
amrū cakā) lhyañ chuiw kra e' // prañ mhu kā ma chuiw ra // achum mha kā (prañ)
tay cakā kuiw chuiw kra lat te // pañḍit i nā su ray 20000 nhañ mahāthi saṅghāthi
syañ nhañ sāsanā plū liy hu nhañ e' // nā (chuiw) luiw e' // mahārac i (sura)y (alum)
// saṅghā alum capā hi mha (te tañ) krañ am // (capā kā) prañ cañcim amryac ma
(lo) // i surey tuiw sañ than kuiw (te cañ) ruy (cā pri) kā (wam nā) ruy (ma) siy kun
tha lo (krwañ) so saṅghā tuiw le prañ twañ ma wañ (wam // taw) suiw pliy ruy siy kun
kham so takā // mañkri (pri pi) so amhu ma lo // uyan cuik so yokyā kā // riy swan
ruy sac pañ kuiw kri ciy e' // añwan ma chit takā // sacpañ (si pri kā) te aśi cā e' //

1. Pl. 19a9, Pl. 276a², Pl. 277⁵, Pl. 423¹⁸⁻²³

2. Pl. 158²⁰, Pl. 186¹, Pl. 248¹¹ Most probably both Ngasaunggyan and Kaungsin are on the opposite bank of Bhamo.

3. Pl. 271¹⁻³⁷

Tampratik prañ kuiw le riy swan ū lat siy nāy mū le sāsanā mlat cwā || mañkri kā phurhā chu toñ so sū ma lo || apha Kotama sāsanā kuiw apyak cīy lat siy || nā kā | kok pai cuik liy ū am kok pay prī pī so kā wañ || i suiw chuiw piy so te || Taruk mañ chuiw e' || i cakā twāñ nā phuiw le pā e' || pañḍit lā ruy pliy pliy sa syaṇ tuiw kuiw khaw liy kok pay le cuik liy || pri pī so nā kuiw lhwat lat tum || i suiw hū ruy nā lā ra sate || amhu le lyā ra lhyāñ sate || i suiw nā kleñcū hi rakā nā kuiw piy taw mū so || (Ha)ñlañ nliy 400 Kramitū mliy san muryaṇ plyuiw khañ cum 400 apoñ mliy 800 kywan nwā alum ratanā 3 pā kuiw rañ ruy Panpwat Rap ceti nhuik lū e' ||

Honour to him, the Blessed, the Saint, the Fully Enlightened. In S. 548 (1285) *Mrigaśira* year, the king was staying at *Lhañkla* west of *Prañ* (either Prome or the capital city of Pagan). He sent *Anantapīcañ* and *Mahāpuiw* saying: "Find out about the movements of the *Taruk*". *Anantapīcañ* and *Mahāpuiw* said: "This task is a very big one. There is no go-between to send. And there is no one to make the gold address" (i.e. to draft the royal letter). If only we had *Syañ Disāprāmuk* with us, we should be able to undertake the task." Thus they petitioned. So the king called me and entrusted this task to me.

At *Sacchim* and *Hanlañ* we made no stay. Having made the gold address, we sent it to the *Taruk* king. The *Taruk* king said: "This gold address is not sent by the king. It is merely sent by the ministers; this gold address. As for this learned man, if the king did not send him (?) Anyway call him." So they called me as being the learned man.

As for the *Mahārāja* of Pagan, he made a gold address saying: "Kings should not imprison ambassadors. He is to act as our ambassador." Thereupon they released me. We reached the *Taruk* kingdom. As for the *Taruk* king, intending to send (an expedition) to Pagan, he had despatched Prince *Susuttaki* (with) 20,000 soldiers, the *Mahāthera Puñadhammikā*, the *Saṅghāthera Śrī Dhammika*, and (the monks of) 70 monasteries to reach the city of *Saṅthway* (?Tagaung) and caused them to stop there. He caused them to halt there in view of the fact that the monsoon was heavy at the time.

In due course we arrived. Thereupon the monks who were halted there, presented gifts and presents to me and said as follows: "How the king is longing for you Sir! And the king is a good Buddhist! Please tell him that we could not preach the religion at Pagan (because no body is there)."

As for me, having passed the abode of these persons (due to) stop at Pagan, I spent Lent at *Yachañ*.¹ In *Tachonmhun* (November) I went up to *Taytu* (Peking).² In *Plasuiw* (December) I arrived there.

1. *Yachañ* is probably *Yachi* of Marco Polo which is today in the Lo-tz'ū district.

2. *Taytu* (T' ai-tu), the Great Capital, also known as *Qanbaliq* (the Cambulac of Marco Polo), the Khan's city from 1267. *Handbook of Oriental History*, p. 212.

The *Taruk* king was well pleased and we exchanged words and questions, but nothing was said of state affairs. But at the end we talked of state affairs. "Pundit! these 20,000 soldiers of mine and the *mahāthera*, *saṅghathera* and the monks I am sending to propagate the Religion." I replied: "*Mahārāja*! All these soldiers, all these monks, will be steadfast only if there is paddy. Is not paddy the root of the prosperity of the kingdom? If these soldiers continuously eat nothing but mislaced toddy, will they not all die of pains in the stomach? And the remaining (?) monks, also, durst not enter (?) the kingdom (or capital). And if they run away into the jungle, they are all bound to die! O King! is not your work finished? A man who plants a garden, pours water and make the tree grow. He would never pinch the tips. Only when the tree have fruited, he eats the fruit. First pour water on the kingdom of *Tampratit*! Small it is, but the Religion is most excellent. O King! are you not one who prays for the boon of Buddhahood? Grant that the religion of Father *Kotama* be not destroyed! The Kingdoms that you, O King, have conquered are very many and very great. *Tampratit* kingdom is small, a mere appendage. Because there is the Religion, the *Bodhisattva* prefers (?) the kingdom. Let not the soldiers enter yet! As for me, I shall first plant rice and beans. When the rice and beans are full grown, then enter!"

Thus I replied; and the *Taruk* king said: "In these words my profit also is included. Pundit! Call the monks who were running hither and thither at the time of your coming and plant rice and beans. When they are full grown, then send them onto me!" When he had said thus, I had to go. And there was indeed a respite (?) or delay).

Out of gratitude to me for this, the king gave me 400 *pay* of land at *Hanlan* and 400 *pay* of land at *Kramitū*, including monsoon and dry weather paddy land and nursery-land – altogether 800 *pay* with slaves and cattle. All these I dedicate to the Three Gems at the *ceti* of *Panpwat rap* – the Turners' Quarter.

According to this inscription, when the *Taruk* came, the king did not go down to Bassein as mentioned in the chronicles¹ but took to the hills on the west of the capital or Prome. On the suggestion of his ministers *Anantapicañ* (probably the minister who objected to the execution of the envoys in 1273) and *Mahāpuw*, he sent *Disāprāmuk* to *Taytu* who arrived there in about December 1285. The *Taruk* came under command of Prince *Susuttaki* (?Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin) and they were twenty thousand strong. Among them there were also monks from seventy monasteries under the leadership of *Mahāthera Puññadhammika* who were to propagate Buddhism at Pagan. While negotiations were in progress, the enemy was in occupation of *Saṅthway* (Tagaung). *Disāprāmuk* said that he was successful in persuading the *Taruk* king to recall his army so that the kingdom of *Tampratit* might revive from the devastations of the invading army and send tribute soon. Everybody concerned at that time might think that the troubles were over. Unfortunately it was only a truce. The king on his way to the capital in 1287 passed through Prome where one of his sons poisoned him and internal troubles followed in the wake of it. The Yunnan government saw opportunities of taking advantage of this internal dissension and so disregarding the imperial orders, came

1. *Hmannan*, para 147; *GPC*, p.175.

down to Pagan with Prince Ye-sin Timur at its head and occupied the city. But they helped the royal family to re-establish itself. Thus, the next king after *Tarukpli* was *Rhuynansyañ*¹ who was anointed king on Monday, 12 Waxing of *Mlwaytā*, S. 651 (30 May 1289). He sent his son *Singhapati* to receive investiture from the emperor,² but in A.D. 1297, he became *han kla mañ*³ - the dethroned king, i.e. he was dethroned. Perhaps *Rhuynansyañ* and *Singhapati* were put to death for being in league with the Mongols to put the country under foreign control. In an inscription dated 1302, we find mention of *Taruk prañlā so Taktaumū mañkri*⁴ - the great king *Taktaumū* who went to the city of *Taruk*, which supports the fact that a scion of the fallen house went to Yunnan as a rival of *Conac* for the throne of Pagan. Perhaps this *Taktaumū* is *Kumāra Kassapa* (Kou-ma-la-kia-chipa-sou-tan-pa-tcho-li) of the Chinese accounts. But the king of Pagan was king only in name. *Asaṅkhyā*⁵ established himself at Myinsaing, his brother *Rājasaṅkrama* at Mekkaya and their youngest brother *Sihasū* at Pinle.⁶ These three were the real rulers and the king was a mere puppet in their hands. They dethroned *Rhuynansyañ* in 1297 and put *Conac* on the throne. He was mentioned as *Siri Tribhavanādittiyāpavaradhammarāja Mañ Lulan*⁷ or *Talasukri*⁸ in the inscriptions. *Taktaumū* was successful in convincing the Mongols that he was a better claimant to the throne of Pagan. So the Mongols came again in 1300. This time the objective was not Pagan but Myinzaing under *Asaṅkhyā* and his two brothers who perhaps played upon the nationalist sentiments against Mongol suzerainty and had been able even to take back Singu and Male from foreign control. The brothers were driven to defensive warfare only and their town was besieged. Gold offered by them, and summer heat of the dry zone of central Burma persuaded the enemies to raise the siege and go back.⁹ The province of *Cheng-mien* was formally abolished on 4 April 1303. Whether it was gold or heat that defeated the invaders, the three brothers put it on record as being due to their military prowess.

| atu mañ tha so | cac sūkrī phlac so | Siri Asaṅkhyā | Rāja | Sihasū mañ so | Taruk
cac kuiw nhip nañ nuiñ sa | ñi ackuiw 3 yok...10

Lords of the War without peer, Glorious *Asaṅkhyā*, *Rāja* and *Sihasū* - the three brothers who suppressed the *Taruk* army . . .

From *Aniruddha* to *Tarukpli* there were eleven kings of the Pagan Empire which at

1. Pl. 282¹, Pl. 287a⁴, Pl. 417²

2. E. Huber "La fin de la Dynastie de Pagan" *BEFEO*, IX, p. 670

3. Pl. 286²

4. Pl. 396a⁴, Pl. 396b¹

5. Pl. 417²

6. These three places belong to the *Eleven Villages*. See Map 2

7. Pl. 290b³, Pl. 2922⁸

8. Pl. 392¹⁶

9. The popular story about this is that although the commanders of the invading army took the bribe, they did one act of good turn by letting their men help on the Kyaukse irrigation works and thus the Thindwe canal was constructed. (Harvey: *Burma*, p. 77) Unfortunately we find the mention of *Saṅhway Mroñ* in an inscription dated A.D. 1197 (Pl. 20a²) and therefore it is impossible to believe that the canal was only constructed in 1300 by the Chinese. If the Chinese had any thing at all to do with the canal it probably was repairing it. See below p. 43, n. 2

10. Pl. 276a⁴⁻⁵. See below p. 40

the zenith of its power probably included the whole stretch of land:

*/ Pukam añā Non U ca so Nā Choñ Khyam tuiñ oñ Pukam akriy Sariyppaccarā ca sa
kā Taway tuiñ oñ...¹*

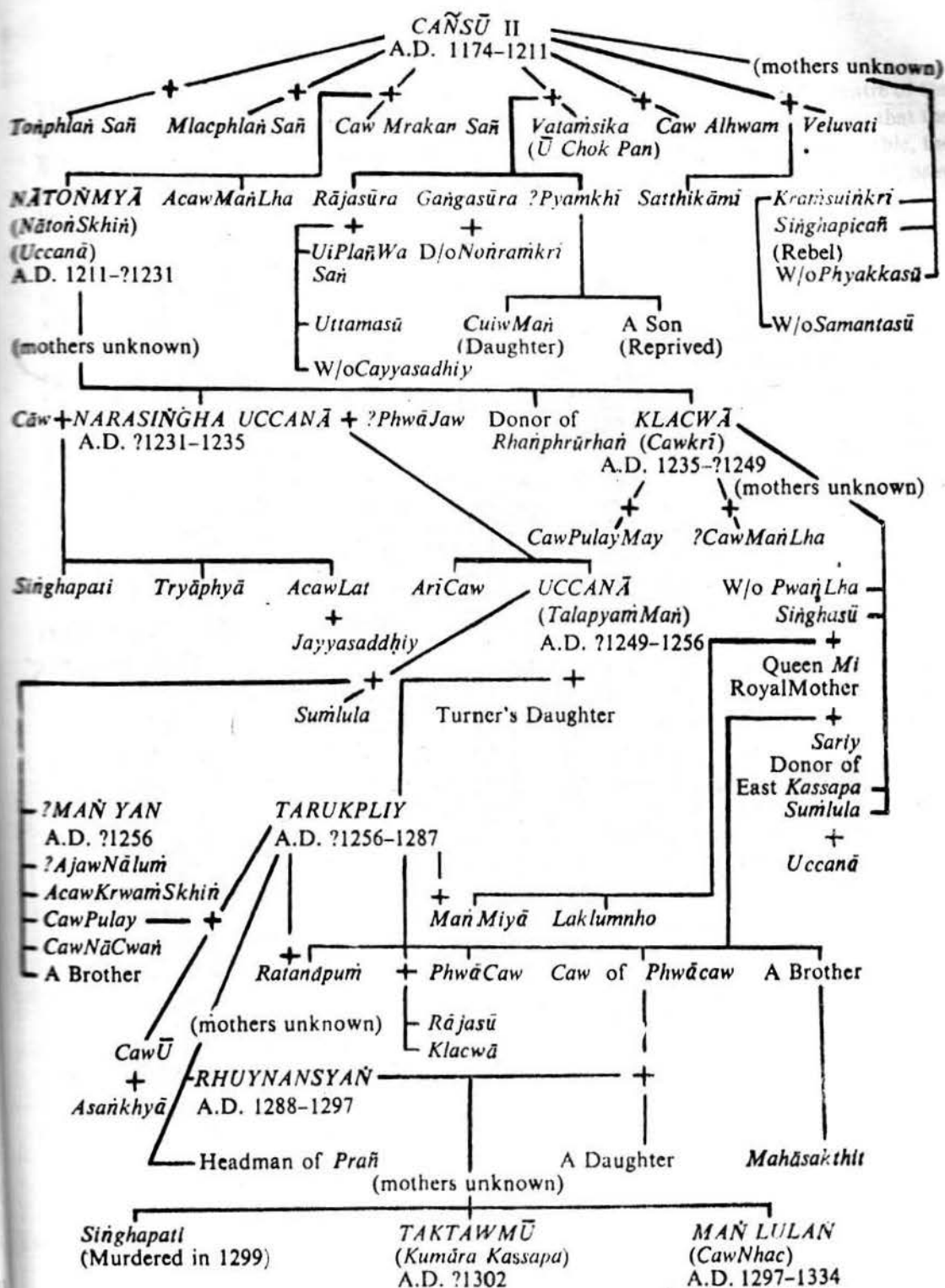
from *Non U* to *Nā Choñ Khyam* upstream of *Pukam* and from *Sariyppaccarā* to *Taway* downstream of *Pukam*.

The Salween river was the eastern boundary but in the west, although the chronicles claim that Arakan was in the empire² we find no epigraphic evidence to prove it. Probably the lords of Arakan recognized the suzerainty of Pagan. It seems that the city of Pagan was founded in about tenth century or early eleventh century and it remained the capital city right down to the end of the thirteenth century which is a very long time for a city in Burma. The best days were during the reigns of *Cañsū II* and *Nātoñmyā*. The Mon language was the official language of Burma until the death of *Thiluiñ Mañ* in A.D. 1113 and the Burmese culture was very much under the influence of Mon in those days. Some historians prefer to call this early period 'the Mon period of the Pagan dynasty'. Then there was the transition period from 1113 to 1174 where the burmanization movement set in. Therefore, it was only from 1174 that the Burmans could have their own way both politically and culturally. After *Nātoñmyā* the empire began to decline. Probably the central government had lost control over the outlying parts of the empire and bandits and robbers infested the countryside. King *Klacwā* tried to improve the administration and check its downhill run but was not successful. The kings that followed *Klacwā* were easy going as was wont to happen in a comparatively long dynasty. Mon whom *Aniruddha* conquered in A.D. 1057 made an attempt to revive their national freedom early in the reign of *Thiluiñ Mañ* but the king's diplomacy averted the danger to the empire. They never tried it again until the time of *Tarukpli*. The king was inefficient and so internal troubles alone could have destroyed the empire. But the final blow came from the Mongols. They wanted recognition of their overlordship which the Burmans proudly refused. Even when the capital city was occupied, the Mongols tried to help the royal family to re-establish itself but there were no more great kings to weld the empire together again. Thus the story of Pagan ends with the story of a king whose name goes down into posterity as the king who fled from the Chinese.

1. Pl. 42322-23

2. Conquest of Arakan in A.D. 1118. See Harvey: *Burma*, p. 45

Genealogical Table of the Latter Half of the Pagan Dynasty





CHAPTER III

BURMESE ADMINISTRATION 1044-1287

THE traditional date for the foundation of Pagan which was to become the centre of the Burmese power in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries is A.D. 849. But if the theory that the Burmans came into Burma sometime after the Nanchao raids of A.D. 832-5 is acceptable, the year A.D. 849-50 for establishing their capital at Pagan would be too soon. It might have been founded in the 10th century.¹

Before Pagan became the centre of the Burmese Empire which King *Anruddha* and his successors built, there were many other Burmese centres or settlements around Pagan which would have had an equal chance of becoming centres themselves as they were all under the rule of local chiefs who invariably enjoyed the title of *mañ*² - the king. Subsequently the *mañ* of Pagan became *mañkri*³ - the great king - and was recognised as the leader of all Burmans. It seems that the Burmans when they entered Burma settled first in the fertile area called *chai ta rwā*⁴ - eleven villages, in the Kyaukse district. These eleven settlements were *Pailay*, *Plaṇmanā*, *Mlacsā*, *Raṇun*, *Mrañkhuntūin*, *Panan*, *Tamut*, *Saṇtoṇ*, *Makkharā*, *Taplaksā*, and *Khañilhū*⁵. They spread out fanwise and dominated central Burma. The inscriptions of our period mention very often these first settlements in the Kyaukse area. They used the term *khruin*⁶ to denote their first home and *tuik*⁷ and *tuik*⁸ for the nearby places where they moved into subsequently. The word *nuññam*⁹ came into use only when *Anruddha* and his successors were able to enlarge their power and subjugate the neighbouring more or less alien settlements extending from *Koncañi* in the north to *Taluiṇsare* and *Tawai* in the south.¹⁰ Of *Cañsū* II (1174-1211) it is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1196¹¹ that he ruled an empire which extended from *Takoṇ* and *Nachonkhyam* in the north to *Salañkre*¹² and *Sacchitani* in the south and from *Macchakiri* (Chin Hills) in the west to the *Salwañ* (River Salween) in the east. In A.D. 1292 soon after the Mongol invasion King *Rhuynansyan* (Kyawzwa) claimed that his empire had *Nachonitiwā* in the north and *Tawai* in the south as its boundaries.¹³ This claim was rather of the past. But according to the above mentioned inscription of A.D. 1196 which gives the extent of the empire at the height of its power we find that the Pagan monarchy held sway over an area which is roughly the same as modern Burma with the exception of *Arakan* in the west, the trans-Salween area in the east and the major portion of the modern *Kachin* state in the north.

1. See above pp. 1-3. See also *JBR*, XLII, i, 80

2. Pl. 143a¹⁶, etc.

3. Pl. 10a¹, Pl. 19a¹⁴, etc.

4. Pl. 1624-5

5. See Map 2.

6. Pl. 31¹¹ (6 *khruin*)

7. Pl. 12¹⁵, Pl. 20a¹², Pl. 423¹²

8. See *JBR*, XXX, i, p. 304, n. 14

9. Pl. 19a⁶, Pl. 276a²

10. Pl. 19a⁹, Pl. 276a², Pl. 277⁵, Pl. 423²²

11. Pl. 19a

12. *Salañkre* probably is Cape Salang.

13. Pl. 276a²

The King of Pagan was an absolute monarch and his word was law. From *Aniruddha* down to the last days of Thibaw the idea of absolutism prevailed and therefore Sir George Scott's remark on Burmese monarchy is worth repeating here.

The King's power was absolute; his only restraint were his voluntary respect for Buddhist rules and precepts, general for all believers or particular to the kingly estate. Otherwise he was lord and master of the life and property of every one his subjects. No hereditary rank or title existed in the kingdom except in the royal family. Outside of that the king was the source of all honours. Official position was the only sign of rank and all officials were appointed or dismissed at the king's will. Dismissal usually meant absolute ruin, a step from the court to the gaol. On the other hand, any one, not a slave or an outcast might aspire to the highest offices in the state. The country and people were entirely at the disposal of the king and the only check on misrule was the fear of insurrection¹.

The inscriptions of our period express similar ideas on kingship. King *Aniruddha* is mentioned as *cakkrawati*² - the Lord of the Universe. Queen *Phwa Jaw* when dedicating slaves and lands in A.D. 1272 described her husband King *Narasīṅgha - Uccanā* as

*riy mli khapsim so askhiñ phlac tha so mlat cwā so nā lañ skhiñ mañkri*³
my most excellent husband, lord the king, lord of all water and land.

About her grandson King *Tarukpiy* she said :

*// asariy hiy so purhā tryā saṅghā ratanā sum pā nhuik // ruiw siy mlat tha so sū taw takā e, kuiw kway rā phlac tha so // alwan so mañtakā nhañ ñi ñwat tha so // chañ phlū ca so ratanā apon aphaw skhiñ phlac tha so // Jāmbudip klwan nhuik thwan so niy kay suiw ahin caw aroñ tok pa tha so // asariy hiy so // Sri Tribhuvanādityapawaradhammarājā // Uccanā mañ so mañkri //*⁴

King *Uccanā* also called *Sri Tribhuvanādityapawaradhammarājā* the Glorious, who shines with colour, fame and influence like the sun resplendent on *Jambudīpa* island; who is the lord and comrade of all the jewels headed by the White Elephant; who is at peace with kings spread all over the world; who is the refuge of all good people who revere and honour the Three Glorious Gems.

King *Klacwā* enjoyed even greater praise as he was described as

Arimātapūra mañ so prañ nhuik // acuiw ra so alwan akay phun tan khiuw kri cwā tha so Klacwā mañkri

The Great King, an exceedingly powerful Lord of *Arimaddanapura*.

1. G. Scott: *GUBSS*, I ii, p. 469

2. Pl. 160a⁶

3. Pl. 235¹⁰⁻¹¹

4. Pl. 234¹⁻⁴ and Pl. 247²⁻⁵

5. Pl. 246¹⁻²

In all these expressions the prevailing idea was that the king was the most powerful person in the state and being the lord of land and water he was also the lord of life and death as land and water were the source of all life. Practically there was no check to this kind of absolutism except the fear of insurrection as Sir George Scott has rightly observed. But in view of the fact that Buddhism was flourishing in those days, religion had an enormous influence upon the kings. A king was always looked upon as *purhā lon*¹ - a future Buddha, and thus being a *Boddhisattva* he was supposed to be pious, kind and indulgent. When he was dealing with the clergy, he was wise not to offend them. The following instance will show us how a despot was held in check when he made a false step that aroused the opposition of the Order. There was an *Araññavāsika* sect of Buddhists getting more and more popular during the latter half of the Pagan dynasty. There are many inscriptions² recording the monks of this sect as buying up land especially in the Chindwin area and thus increasing the religious land which was a disadvantage to the royal treasury as the king could get no revenue out of these lands. In addition to these, wealthy people and officials were in the habit of dedicating their lands to religious establishments. It seems that King *Klacwā* decided to stop this loss of revenue by confiscating the religious lands. In A.D. 1235, soon after his accession he started taking over these lands and consequently the monks raised an objection which compelled him to appoint a royal commission to look into this matter. The commission decided in favour of the monks and as a result the king had to relinquish his claims.³ This instance gives us two important facts. Firstly, that the kings of Burma were not always surrounded by mere sycophants and opportunists. They used wise people and followed their advice in times of crisis. Appointing a commission to settle a big problem was a usual practice except in the case of a haughty monarch like *Tarukpiy* who refused counsel on the eve of the Mongol invasion.⁴ In an inscription dated A.D. 1291 it is mentioned that in the king's presence there are always *saṃpiyaṇ kalan suṇayto hurā smā tukhamin*⁵ - executive officers, squires, astrologers, doctors of medicine and scholars. On the strength of *Kyanzitha's Palace Inscription* (A.D. 1101-2)⁶ we may venture to assume that the astrologers were Brahmins. Another inscription tells us that immediately after his accession in A.D. 1235, King *Klacwā* gave a hundred *pay* of land to Brahmin astrologers who probably conducted his coronation.⁷ Secondly, when confronted with an opposition which might prove fatal, even an ambitious king like *Klacwā* deemed it wise to yield.

Although the king was the most important figure in the state, he could not possibly run the government alone. As the empire grew he had to appoint ministers and officers to help him in the administration. The ministers were called by the Sanskrit name *amātya* and the word *wungyi* for a minister, meaning one having a great responsibility, was not yet in use. Very often *amātya* was shortened into *amat* with a suffix *kri* to denote the chief

1. Pl. 36³, Pl. 115^{3,5}, Pl. 143a⁹, Pl. 181⁵, etc.

2. Pl. 268, Pl. 380, Pl. 395, Pl. 423, etc.

3. Pl. 90¹⁵⁻¹⁶, Pl. 231b⁶

4. *Hmannan*, para. 147; *GPC*, p. 173

5. Pl. 272¹⁸

6. *Ep. Dirm.* III, i, IX

7. Pl. 102¹⁸

minister. There was no distinction between civil and military offices and any minister or officer was bound to lead a military campaign when necessary. Thus when making a dedication in A.D. 1223 the donor *Anantasūra* described himself as *amattya* // *mahāsenāpati* - minister and commander-in-chief of King *Nātoṇmyā*. Including this *Anantasūra*, there were altogether five ministers at *Nātoṇmyā*'s court. The remaining four were *Asaṅkyā*, *Aswat*, *Rājasāṅkram* and *Caturaṅgasū*.² Incidentally we have to note here that it destroys the traditional belief in Burma about the *Hluttaw* - the chief administrative office and its four ministers. This tradition starts with *Nātoṇmyā*'s reign when the king, it is said, had four elder brothers who took a great interest in the administration and eventually became four ministers of the king. Epigraphic evidence gives us five ministers and unfortunately none of them are mentioned as having any blood relationship with the king. These five ministers quelled the rebellion headed by *Pyumikhi* and *Singhapicān*, the half-brothers of the king and therefore they earned a rich reward of seven hundred *pay* of land each for bravery when suppressing the rebellion. This also is clear evidence that there was no sharp demarcation between civil and military duties. There was another trouble in the north (at Tagaung) during *Nātoṇmyā*'s reign and an officer named *Lakkhāna Lakway* was sent to settle it. He came back in triumph and was richly rewarded.⁴ Towards the end of the dynasty, the title *cac sūkri* was conferred upon ministers during the time when they were in active service. For example, the three Shan brothers *Asaṅkhyā*, *Singhasū* and *Rājasāṅkram* who became popular after the Mongol invasion were usually mentioned as *amatkri* or *saṁpyan kri*.¹ But in an inscription dated A.D. 1292 they were addressed as *cacsūkri* - generals, in the following manner:

Pukam maṅkri e tū phlac tha so / atu maṅ tha so / cac sūkri phlac sò / Siri Asaṅkyā / Rāja / Sihasū maṅ so / Taruk cac kuiw nhip nan nuiṇ sa / ñi ackuiw
3 yok²

equals of the great king of Pagan, incomparable (in bravery), Lords of the War, Glorious *Asaṅkhyā*, *Rāja* and *Sihasū* - the three brothers who subdued the *Taruk* army.

During *Klacwā*'s reign the chief minister was *Manorāja*³ who was probably also called *Manurāja*⁴ which names closely associate with *Manu* - the law giver. It is also possible that he was a noted judge of the time. He held a very important position as being *Koṇcaṇ Mahāsaman*⁵ - the Viceroy of Kaungsin and *kuiwmhu*⁶ - Commander of the Life Guard. This is also another instance of a combined responsibility for civil and military services in one person.

Next to the ministers, there were *saṁpyan* and *kalan* who were executive officers no

1. Pl. 73¹

2 & 3 Pl. 42¹⁷, Pl. 190a¹²

4. Pl. 231b¹

5. Pl. 274¹⁵, Pl. 282¹⁴, Pl. 291¹¹, Pl. 2973⁰

6. Pl. 276a³⁻⁵

7. Pl. 231b⁶

8. Pl. 331b⁷

9. Pl. 15820-1

10. Pl. 2343⁰

doubt but the nature of whose service is not known yet. *Kalan* seems to be slightly subordinate to the *saṃpyaṇ* and *saṃpyaṇ* is often found as a term interchangeable with the word *amat* (minister) in the inscriptions of the latter half of the dynasty.¹ Even the chief minister *Manorāja* mentioned above, and who was also known as *Mahāsaman* - the Viceroy - was in one instance mentioned as *saṃpyaṇ Mahāsaman*.² In the like manner the Commander-in-Chief *Anatasūra* of King *Nātoṇmyā* was also known as *saṃpyaṇ Anantasūra*.³ There were also judges addressed by the name *tryā saṃpyaṇ*.⁴ Therefore one wonders whether we should put *saṃpyaṇ* on an equal status with *amātya* though the term today has lost its former importance and means only an official of inferior rank.⁵ King *Thiluiṇ Maṇ* is popularly known as *Kyanzittha* and we assume that the name is the corruption *kalan caṇṣā* - the Officer Prince. If *kalan* means only a village headman as is the modern interpretation, we are doing injustice to our popular hero who was the *maṇ* - king, of *Htilhlaing* before he became *maṇkri* - the great king, of Pagan. It seems that *Kalan* was an executive officer of a fairly high rank. Professor G. H. Luce gives us a very useful note on these two words.

SAMPYAN; KALAN: These are probably Mon words in origin, though very common in Old Burmese, *Cāp sumbaṇ* seems to occur as a title in the oldest Mon inscription, found at *Lopburi*, Siam and dating from the 8th century (see *BEFEO*, XXV, 186; XXX, 83-4). *Sumbeṇ* (or *sambeṇ*) and *Kalm* occur frequently in *Kyanzittha* Palace Inscription (*Ep. B.-m.*, III, i, IX); the former also an Old Mon terracotta plaques found at *Tavoy* and elsewhere (*ASB.*, 1924, pp. 38-40).⁶

It seems that these ministers and high officers of the court needed to have a high standard of education though in some cases a favourite might rise to a high position. In an inscription dated A.D. 1278 the educational qualification of a minister was mentioned as follows.

// *pitakat sum pum le tat cwā tha sa* // *saṇsakruit byakāruṇ hurā smā amhū le tat tha so* // *caturaṅgabi jay maṇ so* // *amat kri saṇ plu so kloṇ arap nhuik* //

At the place where the monastery built by the great minister called *Caturaṅgabi jay* who is well versed in the Three *Piṭaka*, as well as learned in Sanskrit, Grammar, Astrology and Medicine, stands . . .

Besides these *amat*, *saṃpyaṇ* and *kalan*, there were other officers at the court. All of them invariably come under the general term *maṇkhyāṇ* - companions of the king, or

1. Pl. 274¹⁵, Pl. 282¹⁴, Pl. 291¹¹, etc.

2. Pl. 2683

3. Pl. 78b¹¹

4. Pl. 78b⁹

5. Judson: *Burmese-English Dictionary*, 1893, p. 186

6. *JBR.*, XXX, i, 305. Mr. H. L. Shorto reasons that *saṃpyaṇ* and *kalan* are not Mon in origin as the Siamese Mon inscriptions quoted; these words are rather names than official posts and although these names occur in Mon inscriptions of Pagan it does not necessarily mean that they are Mon words as Mon was used only to describe scenes in a Burmese court. It is also a possible view.

7. Pl. 2893-5

8. Pl. 2576, Pl. 268^{10, 11, 30}

9. *BEFEO*, XXX, 1002, 77, 78

mañcel - servants of the king, or *mañlulañ²* - youths of the king. There was also another set of courtiers called *sūñayto³* - squires. Probably they were the king's favourites who grew up with him. In one case *sūñaytoau* was mentioned together with *mūchuiw⁴* - the hunters. There were also secretaries and clerks who were mentioned as *aiwañruy⁵*, *cāmroñ⁶*, *cākhipuiw⁷* and *cākhi⁸* who wrote down the orders of the king and passed them on to the executive officers. Incidentally one *cākhipuiw* was a concubine of King Tarukplyi.⁹ In despatching royal orders to the districts, the king had *mrañci¹⁰* - mounted couriers-probably under an officer *mrañ sūkri¹¹*.

As judicial assistants to the king there were *samphama¹²*. An inscription dated A.D. 1218 gives a clear definition of the word *samphama*. It says: *rhiy taw niy amu chan khrañ so samphama tuiw¹³* - the judges of the royal court who try the legal cases. The judges and magistrates had other designations also. They were called *tryā sūkri¹⁴* as today or simply *tryā¹⁵* which also means a law suit or the legal code or the Dharma. In another case the name *amhu cuiw¹⁶* was used to signify a judge possibly of civil suits in contrast to a judge of petty theft cases as *khuiw sūkri¹⁷*. The clerk attached to a *khuiw sūkri* was called a *khuiw tryā cākhi¹⁸*. There were also woman judges.¹⁹ As for the officers of the districts there were *tuik sūkri²⁰* to look after the *tuik* - province, *mruiw sūkri²¹* to look after the fort and *rwā sūkri²²* to look after the village and *kī sūkri²³* to look after the king's granaries. In an inscription dated A.D. 1260 there is the mention of a woman *kliy sūkri²⁴* - officer who looked after the suburb of the city, and at the same time she was described as a junior queen of the king.

As revenue surveyors, there were *pay tuin²⁵* officers. In an inscription dated A.D. 1244 the donor is mentioned as *puin sūkri Sattya* or *puiw sūkri Sattya²⁶*. We do not know which is the right spelling nor do we know the function of this office. As the rice

1. Pl. 215b6

2. Pl. 290b2

3. Pl. 234²⁵, Pl. 257⁶, Pl. 272¹⁸, Pl. 273¹⁸, Pl. 277²¹, Pl. 282¹⁴, Pl. 385¹⁵

4. Pl. 27416

5. Pl. 20713-16

6. Pl. 23545

7. Pl. 2322, 18

8. Pl. 26813

9. Pl. 232²

10. Pl. 222b14

11. Pl. 254a1

12. Pl. 161b3, Pl. 285¹⁷, Pl. 598a^{12,22}

13. Pl. 5743,6

14. Pl. 191b8

15. Pl. 5601⁷

16. Pl. 421b17

17. Pl. 2415

18. Pl. 26913

19. Pl. 17411

20. Pl. 1215, Pl. 29617,18

21. Pl. 37023

22. Pl. 2642

23. Pl. 16224

24. Pl. 1965

25. Pl. 307b4, Pl. 574a8

26. Pl. 153a2,10

land of Kyaukse was entirely dependent upon irrigation, there must have been special officers to supervise the irrigation. Unfortunately we find very little mention of the canals in the inscriptions. In an inscription of A.D. 1220 one officer called *Suwaṇṇapijaṇ* is mentioned as the officer in charge of digging a canal.¹ In passing we must note that the Thindwe canal was not constructed by the Mongols in A.D. 1301 as the chronicles say because we find the mention of *Saṇḥway Mroṇ* as early as A.D. 1198.²

To guard the frontiers troops were probably garrisoned at strategic points and these guards it seems were mostly non-Burmans. An inscription of A.D. 1248 mentions the presence of *Cakraw kaṇ saṇ*³ - ?Sagaw guards at the *Chiptōṇ* (Poison Mountains) outpost, somewhere in the north of Kyaukse district. There was a group of people who used to have *kumṭhaṇ*⁴ or *bhumma*⁵ as prefixes to their names and they figured as important people in the sale of land, or in helping the revenue collectors. The actual nature of their duty is not known but it seems that they belonged to the landed gentry. In villages there were also *saṇkri* and *saṇlyāṇ* who were supposed to be elders of the village. Perhaps they were president and vice-president of a local *saṇ* - an association of some sort. Generally they were males⁶ but sometimes we find the term being prefixed to the name of a woman like *saṇkri Uiw, Si Saṇ*,⁷ but to make the matter more confused, it is also used as a prefix for some monks⁸ or as *kloṇ saṇkri*⁹ - the *saṇkri* of the monastery. If the word *saṇkri* is used exclusively for the monks we could understand that *saṇ* being the short form for *saṇghā* - the Order, *saṇkri* must mean a chief monk. But unfortunately, it is not the case. At the present stage, all we know about this word is that it means some very respectable person or a monk and if he be a layman *saṇkri* he had some administrative duty in his locality. There were also *tuṇ saṇkri*,¹⁰ *tuṇ sūkri*¹¹ and *tuṇ saṇ*¹² whose names were always associated with land transactions and they were employed to put up boundary pillars or inscription pillars recording the dedications. They also figured as very important persons in law suits concerning land and were often ordered by the judges to put up the boundary pillars.¹³

1. Pl. 372³

2. *Hmannan*, para. 150; Pl. 40a²; *Census of India*, 1931: XI, i, p. 300, n. 11; and *JBRs*, XXX, i, p. 304, n. 18. See also *JBRs*, XLII, i, 43 and 68 and, *BRFSFAP*, II, p. 344, n. 18

3. Pl. 162⁵

4. Pl. 162²⁴, Pl. 250³³

5. Pl. 224^{2,6}, Pl. 268^{6,7}

6. Pl. 75a⁴⁵, Pl. 77⁶, Pl. 113⁸, etc.

7. Pl. 53⁹, Pl. 124a³

8. Pl. 6⁹

9. Pl. 367a⁸

10. Pl. 257³²

11. Pl. 257³¹, Pl. 578b⁹, Pl. 598a^{16,19}

12. Pl. 257¹⁹

13. Pl. 387⁴

To do away with the pillar they set up was a serious offence. An inscription records that in A.D. 1226 a person called *Byagghasūra*, probably an officer, dedicated five hundred and five pay of land and a *saṃphama* or judge of the royal court ordered *saṅkri Na Phway Saṇ* and *saṇlyāṇ Na Wam Sā Saṇ* to put up the boundary stones. *Tanluṇ Na Rac* and party destroyed them and therefore they were fined one hundred (ticals) of *nuy pyan* - pure silver.¹ One can imagine how serious the offence was to be fined one hundred ticals of silver when a tical bought nearly two acres of good paddy land.²

It seems that all dedications of land to the religious establishments were to be reported to the king and in one inscription it is mentioned that no less a person than the chief minister *Mahāsman* recorded it in the royal register.³ But there must have been a special officer to do this registration. We find that *Aswat* one of the five ministers of *Nātoṇmyā* was described as the *aklam taṇ so maṇ amut*⁴ - the Royal Registrar. In a law suit between *Mahākassapa* and *Čakraw* guards of *Chipton*, the judgment was passed in favour of *Mahākassapa* because the dedication of the land in question was found recorded in the royal register.⁵ Usually in such cases, after the judgment was pronounced, the judge ordered it to be put on record. The regular phrase for this order is *amūkwan khat ciy*.⁶ Some times the phrase *cā khyup e*⁷ - to fix by written words was used. One might safely presume that the rulings were written on palm leaves as *piy cā taṇ lat rakā*⁸ - being recorded on the palm leaves, occurs in some inscriptions. But in certain very important cases, a special record was made. For example an inscription has :

/ amokwan taṇ e' lakpaṇ klyam 2 thap akrā thān rwak cā hi e' //9

It is recorded on a toddy palm (*terminalia oliveri*) leaf which is put between two boards of a cotton tree (*bombax malabaricum*) wood.

Anything that should go on record concerning royalty was put in a separate register. The *Jayapavattati* inscription says that a dedication made by *Nātoṇmyā* eight years after his accession was by his orders put on record by four officers in *athak carāṇ*¹⁰ - an upper register.

In a law suit, after the judge had pronounced his verdict, if the parties were happy about the judgement, they ate pickled tea together. That was the custom in Burma before the English came. But when it started is a moot point. We find no mention of such practice in the inscriptions dating up to A.D. 1300. There is even no mention of *lbhak* -

1. Pl. 574b⁷⁻⁸

2. Pl. 268³

3. Pl. 283¹⁵

4. Pl. 96⁶

5. Pl. 162⁸

6. Pl. 215b¹², Pl. 235³⁷, Pl. 245b⁸, Pl. 266a¹², Pl. 598a²¹

7. Pl. 272²⁰, Pl. 274¹⁸

8. Pl. 296²⁵

9. Pl. 417⁵⁻⁶

10. Pl. 905, 11

pickled tea, in any inscription. Instead of this practice of eating pickled tea together, old Burmans sat down to a feast where a great quantity of meat and liquor was consumed. They did the same thing after every land transaction. Even if one party was a monk, the price of land included *siy phuiw sã phuiw*¹ the price for liquor and the price for meat. For example *Mahākassapa* bought one thousand pay of land from the *Sāaw* at the price of a tical per pay and at the end of the transaction the *Sāaw* were given a feast when *thamañ phuiw siy phuiw sã phuiw*² - the price for cooked rice, meat and drink - amounted to fifty-four ticals. They were not satisfied with that and so they were given two and a quarter ticals again for the price of liquor. Professor G. H. Luce's note on this custom is reproduced below.

It seems that this custom was strongest in outlying regions and that it became increasingly common after the fall of Pagan. Very likely it was a survival of the old drunken sacrificial rites of pre-Buddhist Burma which still continue in the Chin Hills, Wa States, Karenni and elsewhere.³

A very interesting law suit in which the rival claimants quarrelled for three generations is recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1262.⁴ The substance of the inscription is given below. In A.D. 1187 (i.e. during *Cañsū II*'s reign) Lord *Caku Kri* gave some of his lands to the monastery of the Chief Monk called *Na Tit Sañ*. The chief monk caused a water tank to be constructed and turned the land into a paddy field. It seems that the land was wasteland before this. Lord *Caku Kri* expressed his wonder at this change and made a solemn vow that the land he had thus dedicated in support of the religion would not be included in his estates that his descendants would inherit when he passed away. Thus the land became dedicated permanently to the monastery where the chief monk *Na Tit Sañ* was head. *Na Tit Sañ* enjoyed the produce of the land during his life time. After *Na Tit Sañ*, *Skhin Upacāñ* became head of the monastery. During *Skhin Upacāñ*'s life time, a devotee called *Na Cīñcīm Sañ* planted toddy palms around the water tank. *Skhin Upacāñ* also enjoyed the produce of the land during all his life time. Then *Skhin Muntoñ* became head of the monastery and it was during his tenure that one *Uin Mwan Sañ* the granddaughter of Lord *Caku Kri* claimed the land. When officers *Kaṇṇārañ* and *Kaṇkabhatrā* came for inspecting the villages, the case was brought to their notice. One *Na Chañ Sañ* who was once a monk at the said monastery and who witnessed the occasion when Lord *Cakū Kri* made the dedication was brought before the officers. *Na Chañ Sañ* said, "I knew and saw Lord *Caku Kri* dedicate this land to the Religion. I was the very man employed to construct the reservoir and dig the well. If *Uin Mwan Sañ* wants to say to the contrary, let her say so in the name of Lord Buddha." With this *Uin Mwan Sañ* refused to comply. Then in order to put more weight on what he had first spoken, he *dhat khi piy e*⁵ - lifted the relics of Buddha - and repeated his knowledge of the dedication. Witnesses to this act were

1. See Chapter VIII

2. Pl. 268^{8,9}

3. JBRs, XXX, i, p- 324, n. 94

4. Pl. 381

5. Pl. 381¹⁷. See also Pl. 78b⁷ and Pl. 191b¹¹

the chief monk *Ñān Cok*, the monk *Tuñ Ma Lup* and the wealthy man *Ñā Rok Lway Sañ*. Thus judgement was passed in favour of the Religion. This was in the year A.D. 1220. *Skhin Munton* was succeeded by *Sukhamin Sanpon* and *Buddhapā Sañkri* subsequently. Then in A.D. 1262, *Ñā Phun Rok Sañ* and *Ñā Pa Nay*, grandsons of *Cañsawat*, seized the land. *Skhin Silakumā*, the then head of the monastery complained. Two officers *Samantapicañ* and *Rājapuih* took up the case. Twentyfour villagers were summoned to bear witness. All unanimously said that they knew the land having been dedicated by Lord *Caku Kri* to the monastery of *Ñā Tū Sañ* and up to the present chief monk *Silakumā*, there had been six generations of chief monks enjoying the produce of the land. Thus, the officers decided in favour of the Religion again.

In this law suit, we know how a case was considered and decided in those days. It is also interesting to note that there were two officers who took equal responsibility in deciding the case and that the witness was to lift the relics of Buddha to affirm the truth of what he said. Another important thing that we come across is that the Pagan inscriptions made no mention of the *Dhammasattha* - the Code of Law, or *Rājasattha* - the Rulings, which were in general use in post Pagan periods. Therefore it is tempting to conclude that there is no truth in the *Dhammasattha* of Burma claiming antiquity. For example, Dr. Forchhammer says that the date for the *Dhammavilāsa Dhammasat* is given as A.D. 1172.² It is said that a *Taluñ* monk called *Sariputta* compiled this *Dhammasat* and as a result he received the title of *Dhammavilāsa* from King *Cañsū II* (1174-1211). The tutor of *Nātoñmyā*, son and successor of *Cañsū II* was a native of Lower Burma, born at *Molañā* village to the east of *Tala*³ and this monk was given the title of *Dhammarājaguru* when *Nātoñmyā* became king. But *Dhammavilāsa* cannot be identified with this *Dhammarājaguru*.

King *Klacwā* made a unique attempt to assure the peace and tranquility of his subjects by issuing an edict against thieves.⁴ The edict is dated Thursday 6, May 1249. He decreed that his edict must be written on stone pillars and every village with more than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of the edict pillars have been discovered. He said: "Kings of the past punished thieves by divers tortures starting with impaling. I desire no such destruction. I consider all beings as my own children and with compassion towards all, I speak these words". Then he continued to give various kinds of torture all of which were direct translations of the relevant portions on punishment from the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Milanda Pañña*, which were exceedingly cruel in nature. He may not have intended to use these dire punishments. It seems that he was only trying to frighten his subjects into living good lives. With this threat, he probably hoped to have law and order in his realm. There is an interesting passage in this edict, where the word *amunwan* is referred to as a sort of manual for the punishments. It says:

*khuw so hut cañ mūkā / amunwan cā kwiw phat ciy e / amunwan cā twañ akra
sukhuw sañ / i mañ so / aplac te plac mū kā / i mañ so tan piy te piy ap e, hū piye,*

1. Pl. 174¹⁴ (A.D. 1249). The king ordered four judges to consult the *dhammasat* in a land dispute. This is the only mention of the *dhammasattha* in the inscriptions of our period.
2. Dr. Forchhammer: *The Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 35-6
3. Pl. 63a¹⁴
4. See above pp. 24-9

(When a thief is caught and tried,) and found guilty, the *amunwan cā* is read (or referred to). In the *amunwan cā*, what sort of punishment would be given for what sort of crime is mentioned. Then he is punished accordingly.

Although it is difficult to explain what *amunwan cā* exactly means we know by inference that it was some kind of penal code.

We know very little of the revenue administration of the day¹. A few references however may be gleaned from inscriptions. For instance the land revenue from one hundred *pay* of land was one hundred pieces of loincloth² and in another the land revenue from three thousand *pay* of land was one hundred viss of copper and one hundred pieces of linen or if it was in paddy, the revenue was one basket of paddy for each *pay*.³ From a fishery the revenue was ten viss of copper.⁴ Evidently glebe lands were free from taxation. In an inscription dated A.D. 1260 a case is recorded where a village headman assessed certain religious land⁵. This was reported to the *Mahāthera Samantabhadra* who sent *Sūkhamin's* son to King *Tarukpli* to inform him of the misdemeanour of one of his officers. The King ordered *Mahāsman* the chief minister to inform the headman that the land was exempted from all taxation in the future. An inscription pillar was set up bearing this royal order together with a curse by the *Mahāthera* which said that if any government official in future attempted to collect revenue from the said land may he be swallowed by the earth and cooked in the *Avici* hell.

Now, let us look into the story of the origin of the Hluttaw according to the chronicles. *Nātoṇmyā* was the youngest son of King *Caṅsū II*, who superseding his four elder brothers became king. Taking up this story Mr. G. E. Harvey goes on to described the appearance of Hluttaw.

One reason why his brothers loyally accepted his succession was that he virtually abdicated all power into their hands. The four of them met daily and transacted the affairs of the kingdom. Thus was founded the Hluttaw Yon, the Court of the Royal Commission, which remained till the end the council of the ministers.⁶

As mentioned above, *Nātoṇmyā* had five ministers and they were not his brothers. The *Jeyapwat* inscription however has proved that *Nātoṇmyā* was not the youngest son.⁷ His name was *Nātoṇmyā*, i.e. the King of Many Ear Ornaments, but it was misread *Nantoṇmyā* meaning "many entreaties for the throne" and so a story had to be invented to explain the name and the story of the Hluttaw appears as a by-product. We find no mention of Hluttaw in the inscriptions of our period. Instead, the Pagan kings had many halls under the name of *kwan* where they granted audiences, and did meritorious deeds such as the giving of alms

1. Pl. 1561⁸, Pl. 195b7-8, Pl. 1962-12, Pl. 21220, Pl. 215b9, Pl. 22425, 25, Pl. 24934-5, Pl. 28918, Pl. 39030, 31, Pl. 3926

2. Pl. 3923-4

3. Pl. 39030.1

4. Pl. 3928

5. Pl. 196

6. Harvey: *Burma*, p. 59

7. Pl. 9020

to the monks or dedicating land and slaves to the religious establishments. The ministers also met at such halls and carried out their various official duties. These halls were *Kwan Prok*¹ - the Variegated Hall, *Kwan Prok Kri*² - the Great Variegated Hall, *Kwan Prok Nay*³ - the Small Variegated Hall, *Kwan Sāyā*⁴ - the Pleasant Hall, *Kwan Mrañ*⁵ - the High Hall, *Chañrhu Kwan*⁶ - the Hall of Elephant-review and *Caikray Kwan*⁷ - the Pure Hall. It seems that the *Kwan Prok* was the most important hall and it always had a special caretaker. Incidentally one caretaker of the *Kwan Prok* was referred to as *siy ma sok kwan prok con*⁸ - a teetotaler. Probably, the king used this hall to perform his meritorious deeds. In one instance the king poured the water of libation to signify the end of his alms-giving when he was in the *Kwan Prok*.⁹ In another it is recorded that after being seated at the top of the *Kwan Prok* the great king made a dedication to the most reverend *Mahāthera*.¹⁰ In an inscription dated A.D. 1275 it is mentioned that all the ministers were present at the *Kwan Prok*¹¹ - when the king passed an order in connection with the religious land. It suggests that the king and ministers met here daily and carried out their administrative duties.¹² While King *Klacwā* was in the *Kwan Prok Nay* he passed an order giving the Queen Dowager *Phwā Jaw* 150 slaves and 150 *pay* of land.¹³ The same inscription records that while King *Klacwā* was holding audience in the *Kwan Prok Nay*, the wife of *Singhapikrami* requested the king to forgive her husband who had been exiled from the capital for his part in the rebellion led by *Siriwadhanā* which occurred probably soon after *Klacwā*'s accession in A.D. 1235.¹⁴ We know that *Klacwā* belonged to the junior branch of the royal family¹⁵ and there was a certain group of princes in the court who resented his accession and rebelled. *Singhapikrami* was one of them. The inscription tells us that he was pardoned but as the price of his pardon, the king confiscated his estates. In A.D. 1262, on the death of his Queen *Ratanāpum*, King *Tarukpilay* made a series of dedications and monks were invited to the *Kwan Prok Kri* to receive alms.¹⁶ Regarding *Kwan Sāyā* we have an interesting story¹⁷. It is recorded that while *Bodhisattva Nātoñmyā* was at *Kwan Sāyā Chañrhu Kwan* - the Pleasant Hall, the Hall of Elephant Review—a Cambodian in his service by the name of *Nā Pu Tat* who had once received one hundred and fifty *pay* of land as a reward for bravery, was knocked down by an elephant and broke his leg. *Nā Pu Tat* subsequently sold the land to the Pagan ministers. Thus, we know that *Kwan Prok* - the Variegated Hall—was the place where the kings did serious business such as giving audiences and doing meritorious deeds. The *Kwan Sāyā* - the Pleasant Hall—was however, used for amusement only though on some unfortunate

1. Pl. 79b⁹, Pl. 117a⁷, Pl. 125a², Pl. 228b¹⁰, Pl. 239¹⁷, Pl. 245b⁶, Pl. 266b¹⁵, Pl. 270⁵⁰, Pl. 274^{11, 14, 17}, Pl. 384¹⁶, Pl. 387b²
2. Pl. 203¹⁶, Pl. 235³⁷, Pl. 273¹⁵, Pl. 279¹⁹, Pl. 282¹⁰, Pl. 283¹⁰, Pl. 286², Pl. 290a⁴, Pl. 290b², Pl. 296⁷, Pl. 297²⁰
3. Pl. 234^{20, 52}
4. Pl. 54⁷, Pl. 125a¹, Pl. 174⁵, Pl. 186⁵, Pl. 235⁴⁵, Pl. 239¹¹, Pl. 371b⁶
5. Pl. 196¹, Pl. 364a²
6. Pl. 186⁵, Pl. 239¹¹
7. Pl. 234²⁰
8. Pl. 270⁵⁰
9. Pl. 274¹⁴
10. Pl. 279²⁰
11. Pl. 245b⁶
12. Pl. 234²⁰
13. Pl. 234²⁰⁻⁵⁰
14. See above p. 23
15. See above p. 23
16. Pl. 203¹⁶
17. Pl. 186⁵, Pl. 239¹²

occasions as mentioned above, accidents might mar pleasure. King Cansū II once did a meritorious deed while he was in the *Kwan Mrañ*—the High Hall.¹ One can well imagine that this very High Hall was profusely decorated and became the *Kwan Prok*—the Variegated Hall. There is also mention of *Klacwā* passing an order giving 190 slaves to the Queen Dowager *Phwā Jaw* while he was at *Canḡray Kwan*—the Pure Hall.² Probably, it was a temporary structure as this is the only reference to such a name and it implies that, as a good Buddhist, the king might have stayed there for a religious purpose alone.

It seems that the Royal Registrar had his office in a separate building because sometimes land dedications were recorded in the register kept at the *Tankup*³—the Shed. There is also a mention of *Tankup Rhañ*⁴—the Long Shed, where King *Rhuyṇṇṇṇvān* (A.D. 1288-98) donated some land to the *Mahāthera Dhammasiri*.

We have the following picture of Burmese administration in medieval times. The king was the most important personage in the realm but he had learned and wise ministers in his council who advised him on important affairs. Then he also had Brahman astrologers who calculated auspicious moments for the starting of all important works. When serious problems arose the king appointed commissions to settle them. In administration, he was helped by ministers who were more or less well versed in the Buddhist scriptures. One of them was styled *amat kri*—the chief minister. There was no distinction between civil and military duties and therefore at times the chief minister himself may have led frontier campaigns. As the northern frontier of his kingdom was very important a viceroy was stationed at *Koñ Cañ* (near modern Bhamo). It seems that the chief minister was usually viceroy of these northern marches. The government was not divided into administration, judiciary and law, and therefore a minister had to undertake any administrative work which his master the king set him to do. But the presence of *saṇiphamā* as special officers trying law suits shows that Burma in medieval times had a distinct judicial body although the customary law was probably not yet codified then. The word *dhammasattha* is mentioned only once in an inscription dated A.D. 1249. Probably it refers to an Indian law book. In criminal cases the *amunwan cā* was used as a sort of penal code but unfortunately we are none too sure of its meaning. Embracing the relics of Buddha and declaring that one was telling only the truth was regarded trustworthy and failure to do so was tantamount to an admission of guilt. There were many secretaries and clerks at the king's court to take down all the orders either from the king or one of the ministers. Mounted couriers were used when messages were urgent. It seems that there were fairly good communications between the capital and the provincial administrative centres. The province, the town and the village had their own local administrative officers. At times some of the senior officers from the capital toured the districts and tried cases if necessary. There were special officers assigned to irrigation, land assessment and revenue collection. Revenue was received either in bullion or in kind and many were the royal granaries throughout the realm which stored up the revenue in kind. There were people who had *kumīham* and *bhumma* prefixed to their names and it has been supposed that they were the landed gentry. The king's relation with the Order is an important factor in the adminis-

1. Pl. 365a2

2. Pl. 2342c (A.D. 1294)

3. Pl. 28315

4. Pl. 77012

tration of Burma. The Buddhist precepts always reminded the king to be just and in some cases, we find monks intervening in politics. The outstanding instance of a monk helping to save his country from ruin is clearly shown in *Syañ Disāprānuḥ's* peace mission to *Tajitu*—the Mongol capital, in A.D.1285. When the king's interests clashed with those of the monks he usually gave in and this shows that the monks were quite important. In the light of the above evidence we can see very clearly that the administration in medieval Burma was a well organized one.

CHAPTER IV

SĀSANA

THE Burmese word *Sāsana* is clearly the Pali *Sāsana*, which means the doctrine of the Buddha i.e. the Religion. *Sāsana* in Burmese also means the year of the Religion as reckoned from the death of the Buddha which is 544 B.C.¹ according to Burmese sources. The *Sāsana-vamśa*—the History of the Buddha's Religion²—by *Pañṇasāmi* written in A.D. 1861 traces the expansion of Buddhism to Burma. According to this history the *Rāmañña* country (Lower Burma) was the first to receive the Religion. Then in A.B. 235, the *Soga* and *Uttara* mission came to a place in the *Rāmañña* country known as *Suvāṇṇabhūmi* which is partly on the edge of *Mt. Kelāsa* in *Thaṭon* district. But these are only traditions³ and *Asoka's* Rock Edicts⁴ giving the list of the countries to which missions were sent do not mention the *Soga* and *Uttara* mission to *Suvāṇṇabhūmi*. Nevertheless tradition maintains that henceforth *Thaṭon* was the centre from which the Religion spread upcountry.⁵

The conquest of *Thaṭon* in 1057 by *Aniruddha* resulted, it is said, in the introduction of pure *Theravāda* Buddhism into Upper Burma. But unfortunately there is no known contemporary evidence in support of this famous episode. All the information we have about this event is from various chronicles which are far from reliable for the period under consideration. This is what Professor G.H. Luce said on the subject.

Already these accounts cancel themselves out: *Aniruddha* goes seeking the *Tiṭṭaka* now at *Thaṭon* now at the *Khmer* capital *Angkor*. He receives an insolent refusal now at *Thaṭon*, now at *Angkor*. *Kyanzitha* the general in one case, *Aniruddha* the king in the other, performs feats of gymnastics 'piercing the *Cambojans*' (*krwam:thui:*): the scene is now *Pegu*, now *Angkor*. Each has magic horses that can fly so fast as to give the impression of an army. Each crows his rival with the spectre of streaks of betel-blood: but in one case it is the *Khmer* monarch, in the other that of *Nanchao*. Hero, scene and villain are alike lost in folktale and history sub-merged in the myth.⁶

Nevertheless, the find spot of the seals of *Aniruddha*, which we have discussed in a previous chapter certainly suggests that *Aniruddha* with his capital at *Pagan* expanded north and south and that *Thaṭon* was included in this general advance. There is much doubt that

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1. 483 B.C. according to modern scholars. See E. J. Thomas: *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, p. 27, n.1
 2. *Pañṇasāmi: Sāsana-vamśa*, pp. 37-9; B. C. Law: *The History of the Buddha's Religion*, pp. 40-4
 3. Sinhalese chronicles also mention this tradition; W. Geiger: *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 44, p. 86 and H. Oldenberg: *Dīpavamsa* (1879) VIII, 1-13, pp. 53-4 and translation pp. 159-60. W. Geiger in his introduction to *Mahāvamsa* considers that these Sinhalese chronicles are quite trustworthy.
 4. *Asoka's* Rock Edicts Nos. 5 and 13. See V. Smith: *Asoka* (1909) pp. 161-3 and 172-5. See also Dr R. Bhandākar: *Asoka*, pp. 284-5 and 300-04.
 5. *Hmannan* para. 131; *GPC*, p. 74
 6. G.H. Luce: "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", *JBRs*, XXXVI, i, p.9

Tha-ton was the home of pure Theravāda Buddhism and that it reached Pagan only after the aforesaid conquest.¹

It is more than possible that Buddhism has been known to the early Burmans even before the 11th century. They may have been influenced in their civilization and religion by the Pyu because as late as A.D. 1112-13 a Pagan prince called Rajakumār, the beloved son of Thiluin Mañ (1034-1113) used Pyu as one of the four languages to record a dedication that he made on behalf of his dying father.² Their first capital Sriksetra, four miles to the east of Prome, was probably built in A.D. 638 and it seems that they moved to Halingyi near Shwebo in about the middle of the 8th century when the Kartas came.³ The Pyu kingdom was ultimately destroyed in A.D. 832.⁴

Many interesting articles have been unearthed by the excavations at Hmawza. The most important find was made in 1926 when twenty gold-leaf Pali manuscripts were uncovered.⁵ Altogether these leaves contain eight extracts from the Pali piṭaka texts. The first extract is on Nidāna or Paticca Samuppāda;⁶ the second enumerates the seven kinds of Vipassanā ñāṇa⁷ (contemplative knowledge); the third gives the thirtyseven Bodhipakkhiya dhamma⁸ (elements of enlightenment); the fourth classifies the four perfections of the Buddha;⁹ the fifth enumerates again the fourteen kinds of knowledge possessed by the Buddha;¹⁰ the sixth is a verse from the Dhammapadam¹¹ telling the best of things in this world; the seventh describes the journey to Rājagaha by the Buddha and his disciples¹²; and the eighth is in praise of the Buddha.¹³ The gold-leaf manuscripts¹⁴ together with some similar ones found in the same vicinity¹⁵ strongly suggest that Pali Buddhism was known to the Pyu and that their knowledge of it was by no means slight.¹⁶ One might even

1. See *Hmanan*, paras. 131-2; *GPC*, pp. 73-7. In a supposed conversation between Arahan and *Aniruddha* in their first interview, the king spoke as if he was utterly ignorant of Buddhism. Thus the Chroniclers advance the view that Pagan knew nothing of Buddhism until the Lord Arahan appeared there just before the 1057 conquest.
2. See the *Rajakumār* inscription (Pl. 363ab), popularly known as the Myazedi inscription, *Ep. Birm.* I, i.
3. *JBR*, XLII, i, 11
4. *JBR*, XLII, i, 79
5. *ASI*, 1926-7, p. 200 & Plate XLII, g. *ASB*, 1938-9, pp. 12-22 & Plates IVc, Veb, and VIab.
6. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 261, 263-4; III, pp. 63-4. *Samyutta Nikāya* II, pp. 63-4; III, p. 135; V, p. 388. *Anguttara Nikāya*, V, p. 184. *Vinaya Piṭaka* I, pp. 1-2. *Dhammasaṅgani*, p. 229. *Vibhaṅga* pp. 135, 138-9, 165-8.
7. *Visuddhi Magga* II, p. 639. (It gives eight kinds: our text omits the *parisankhāmapassanāñāṇa*.) *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*. (It gives ten kinds: our text omits the *sammasanāñāṇa*, *parisankhāñāṇa* and *anulomañāṇa*.)
8. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 102; *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 245; *Anguttara Nikāya*, IV, 125-6; *Uddāna*, 56
9. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 71-2; *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, 8-9
10. *Khuddaka Nikāya*, I, 133
11. *Dhammapadam* (Verse 273) (P.T. 1914) p. 40
12. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, (*Mahāvagga*, I), 38; *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, I, 84
13. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya*)
14. *ASB*, 1938-9, pp. 17-22. Edited and translated by U Lu Pe Win
15. Maunggan gold plates discovered in 1891 (*Ep. Ind.* V, pp. 101-02; M. Louis Finot: "Un nouveau document sur le Bouddhisme Birman", *JA*, XX, 1912, pp. 121-36); Bawhawgyi stone inscriptions discovered in 1910-11 (*ASB*, 1924, pp. 21-6); Kyundawzu gold plate discovered in 1928-9 (*ASI*, 1929-9, pp. 108-09).
16. "Pali as the language of Theravāda Buddhism is known and understood, and Pali canonical texts, at least the more important of them, are studied in their doctrinal and metaphysical and most abstruse aspects (c. A.D. 450-500). Early Buddhism also seems to have been more or less a familiar subject, at least in the Old Pyu capital i.e. old Prome. This point is beyond doubt." N. Ray: *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, p. 84.

assume that the Pali Buddhism thriving in *Śrīkṣetra* spread and reached the Burmans at Pagan. It is possible that the Pyu after the destruction of their capital mixed freely with the Burmans and were quickly absorbed by the more virile race.¹ There are three inscriptions in the Pyu script at the Pagan Museum, viz. No. 96 (Pl. 357a, from Halingyi antedating Pagan),² No. 10 (Pl. 363a, the *Rājakumār* inscription dated A.D. 1113) and No. 3. (Pl. 555). The last one has two faces, one in Chinese. It probably belongs to the period between 1287 and 1298.³ The scarcity of Pyu inscriptions during the whole of the Pagan period is best explained in this way. Though both the Pyu and Mon civilized the Burmans the Mon influence predominated probably because of their proximity—there being some colonies of Mon in the Kyaukse area. During the second decade of the 12th century a reaction against the Mon influence set in. The inscriptions of the transition period (1113–74) show the Burmans using Mon, Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu and Burmese languages⁴ simply because the art of writing in Burmese was still in its infancy. Ultimately the Burmese language triumphed over its rivals.

We have seen from the gold leaf manuscripts found at Hmawza that the Pyu knowledge of Buddhism was not slight. Even if the Mon had outrivalled the Pyu element the latter probably was still a strong one as is shown by a Pyu face in the *Rājakumār* inscription. Therefore, until the contrary is proved it is possible to say that the Burmese derived some sort of Pali Buddhism from the Pyu prior to the said conquest of Thaton.

The Mon were living side by side with the Burmans in the Kyaukse area even before *Aniruddha*, and this certainly proves that the Mon civilization was not new to them when they expanded south and conquered the 'Monland'. Professor G.H. Luce thinks that the Mon were in the Kyaukse area even before the arrival of the Burmans⁵ and that the infiltration of the Burmans into that area drove them south though some remnants survived in the northwestern corner of it. The Burmese inscriptions between 1211 and 1262 made three references to the 'main village of the Talaings' (*Taluin rwā ma*).⁶ Probably they refer to these Mon remnants and their place is located at *Khamlhā* or *Khabu* near the junction of the Samon and the Myitnge.⁷ An old Mon inscription⁸ which still stands on the north-west side⁹ of the Kyaukse Hill is quoted below to show that these Mon were Buddhists.

1. We have mention of Pyu in the inscriptions until as late as 1510 (List 1050⁷⁰).
2. See *ASB*, 1915, p. 21.
3. "...Stone 3 at the Pagan Museum, with two faces, Chinese and Pyu respectively, both illegible. It is not certain that the two faces belong to the same date; but if they do, the date is likely to be between 1287-98, when, following the capture of Pagan by Asūn-tāmūr, Mongol-Chinese influence was paramount at the Burmese capital. If so, the use of Pyu in preference to Burmese may perhaps be attributed to the Chinese love of learned archaism". *JBRs*, XLII, i, 55
4. The Shwezigon inscription (*Ep. Birm.*, III, pp. 68-70) is in Mon, the Shwegugyi (Pl. 1 and 2) is in Pali and Sanskrit and the *Rājakumār* inscription (*Ep. Birm.*, I, i) is in Pali, Burmese, Mon and Pyu.
5. *JBRs*, XXXVI, i, 3
6. Pl. 38b⁶, Pl. 205¹²⁻¹⁷ and Pl. 212⁴
7. See Map 2.
8. *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, 70-3
9. *JBRs*, XXXVI, i, 3

I, the Chief Monk...loñ, when I came to dwell at Klok-Sa¹, I informed the Chief Monk of Bukām, I informed the king there, that I was building a baddhasīma. These (are the persons) who together with myself worked (for this temple?): the junior monk Mahādew, his father, his mother, his (grandfather?) (...?) the mother of Na Lwoy, Ya Wāñ, son of Na Mrik, Na Gan Dā: these I dedicate to the temple, who worked together with myself. The great (donation?) of (measures of?) arable land, which the kon samben dalañ gave to me, I also give to the temple. (May?) the accumulation of merit, (offering (and) worshipping?).....(conduct ?) for (all beings ?).....

This presence of a Mon mahāthera in Kyaukse district and his building of a permanent ordination hall together with the fact that he informed a mahāthera resident at Pagan of his meritorious deed clearly shows that the Burmans had close contact with the Mon in religious affairs. Unfortunately the inscription bears no date. Anyhow if we accept the theory that the Burmans took the Kyaukse area from the Mon and that "the victors sat at the feet of vanquished"², we could easily go a step further and say that the Burmese got some form of Buddhism from the Mon remnants even before the 11th century.

It is important to discover what sort of religion the Burmans practised in the early part of the Pagan dynasty which has been labelled the Mon period (1057-1113) as most of the inscriptions attributed to this era are in the Mon language. In the Great Shwezigon inscription³ of Thilutñ Mañ (1084-1113) we have the eulogy of the king who shall rule Pagan after A.B.1630 (A.D.1086)⁴. According to it the principal religion then practised was Buddhism. But there are references to other religions as well. Srī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja (i.e. Thilutñ Mañ) the Buddhist King is considered as a reincarnation of Vishnu⁵. Evidently there is a good deal of Brahmanism in the Buddhism that they practised. This, in spite of the fact that the king had a spiritual adviser who helped him rule righteously and purify the religion.

A Lord Mahāther, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law, King Srī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja shall make....., shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahāther, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, 'Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha,' thus shall King Srī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja say.⁶

1. This Klok-Sa is identified as the two villages of Klok and Sayon (Pl.34¹², Pl.48⁹, Pl.497, Pl.2327, Pl.2725⁷) which were later combined to form Kyaukse. See JBRs, XLII, i, 64.

2. JBRs, XXXVI, i, 3

3. Ep.Birm, I, ii, pp.90-130

4. This is supposed to be the coronation year of Thilutñ Mañ who ascended the throne in 1084. Ep.Birm, I, ii, p.113

5. Ep.Birm., I, ii, A⁴⁶, 114

6. Ibid. p.117

The inscription goes on to say that Buddhism prospers well in the realm.

The city of Arimaddanapūr, which is the dwelling place of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall glow (and) glitter with the Precious Gems. King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall pray desiring omniscience.

All those who dwell in the city of Arimaddhanapūr, together with King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, shall delight worthily in the Precious Gems, shall worship, revere, (and) put their trust in the Lord Buddha, the Good Law and all the lords of the Church.¹

It is surprising to note that orthodoxy went side by side with religious toleration.

In the realm of my lord all those who were heretical shall become orthodox entirely. All the monks shall be full of virtue and good conduct. All the Brahmans, who know the Vedas, they shall fulfil all the Brahman law.²

We have further evidence of the King's religious fervour in another inscription.³ It said that he built a pagoda called Jayabhūmi (Shwezigon) to the northeast of Pagan, collected and purified the three holy Piṭaka which had become obscure, sent men, money and material to effect repairs at the holy temple of Srī Bajrās (Bodh Gayā), offered the four necessities (i.e. shelter, robes, food and medicine) to the monks frequently and converted a Shan (Coli) prince to Buddhism. In spite of his religious fervour his palace inscription⁴ dated A.D. 1101-02 proves beyond a doubt that the Buddhism practised at the court of Pagan was far from pure. This inscription shows "a mixed ceremonial proceeding under the very eye of the mahāthera Arahān".⁵ The whole affair was left in the hands of "the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building"⁶ except when the Buddhist monks were invited to bless the site by reciting the paritta—a Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Even then the water used for the occasion was drawn and carried by the Brahmans and the conch which is supposed to be the symbol of Vishnu was used to hold the water. The following extract shows this clearly.

At sunset, godhuli (being) lagna, the saṅkrān Brahmans, who carried litters, beat the foremost drum. The Brahman astrologers went (and) drew water for the reciting of the paritta. Having brought the water, they arranged the water (in) vessels of gold, vessels of silver (and) vessels of copper (at each place where?) the blessing (was to be given?): at the great pavilion and the four cindrow pavilions and the ablution pavilion

1. *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, 121

2. *Ibid.* p.127

3. The Shwesandaw (3) inscription, *Ibid.*, pp.153-68

4. *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, 1-68. This inscription was broken into many pieces and Dr C.O. Blagden has arranged the eighteen fragments in order naming them consecutively from ABC up to S. Professor G.H. Luce disagrees with this order. According to him it should be NRSOPQ, BCDA, EFGH and JKLM.

5. *JBRs*, XLII, i, 62

6. *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, p.64. 0*

and the *jun dal* pillars. Water (in) four thousand earthenware vessels and eight conch shells they arranged at the dwellings of the four thousand lords of the Church who were to recite the *paritta* outside and throughout the palace (and as for all?) the eight lords of the Church, our lords the monks of the Church (who were to be?) the leaders in reciting the *paritta* outside, together with the four thousand monks,.....the dwellings of the eight leading lords of the Church, eight mats, eight (figured?) cloths (and) eight spades, water (in) a hundred and eight vessels and a hundred and eight conch shells, they arranged (at?) the dwelling places of a hundred and eight lords of the Church, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who were to recite the *paritta* within, at the dwelling places of those hundred and eight lords of the Church (they arranged) a hundred and eight mats, a hundred and eight (figured?) cloths (and) a hundred and eight spades.¹

The inscription goes on to say how the conch came into use in a Buddhist rite. It also mentions that the monks were standing during *saraṇasīla* and *paritta* which would be considered unusual now-a-days in Burma.²

At that time our lord the Chief Monk Arahan stood at the western side facing towards the eastern side (and) holding a right-voluted conch shell, together with water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper (and) earthenware, which they arranged in front of our lord the Chief Monk Arahan.

Then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan gave the *saraṇasīla* and all the four thousand one hundred and eight monks remained standing within (and) without, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who was the leader in reciting the *paritta* blessing.³

A special place was allotted in the new palace as a prayer hall and next to the image of Buddha was placed the image of *Gawaṃpati*.

Towards the east side of the front of the great hall, (they) made a sanctuary, furnished with seats, which (they) made fittingly, which (they) decorated (round about?) with white cloth (and which they shaded?) with white umbrellas. Then (they) spread rugs on the top of the seats. Then (they) set (thereon) a golden statue of Buddha, a statue of the Lord Gawaṃpati, with books of the *Vinaya*, *Sutta* (and) *Abhidhamma*

At three *pahir* (they) sounded the drums (and) blew..... (in honour of ?) the golden Buddha, the Lord Gawaṃpati and all the four

1. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 36-7, IX, A¹²⁻²⁸

2. Perhaps as Dr C.O. Blagden suggests (*Ep. Birm.* III, i, p. 38, ns. 8 and 10) the Old Mon word *rāw* does not mean exactly "to stand." It might simply mean "stayed, remained". Mr. H.L. Shorto prefers the second form. Then, it would mean that the monks stayed at a specified place marked for them, very probably sitting cross-legged and recited the *paritta*.

3. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, p. 38, A⁴⁰⁻⁶

thousand one hundred and eight lords of the Church of whom our lord the Chief Monk Arahan was the leader.¹

Although the presence of 1408 monks including *Mahāthera* Arahan is mentioned in the inscription one gets the impression that the Brahmins were the more important. In all the eighteen known fragments of the inscription the mention of the Brahmins occurs forty nine times²—they are found leading at every step of the construction.. Therefore it is natural to conclude that the worship of Vishnu³ (*Nār* in the inscription, is the Mon word for *Nārāyaṇa*) preceeds all important ceremonies. Offerings were also made to Indra.⁴ Another important thing of note is that the Brahmins also performed the *Nāga* worship.

To the Nāgas (they) made a decoration of plantains (for ?) a dwelling place, spread mats, (and set in readiness?) golden flowers (and) altar oblations. ... Then the Brahman astrologers versed in house-building offered water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they worshipped the Nāgas.⁵

For other evidences of Brahmanical influence it is best to quote Professor G.H. Luce. In the Nanpaya of the captured Mon King (Makaṭa), the chief sculptures left are those of Brahma. Almost next door to Kyanzittha's palace, stands to this day a temple of Viṣṇu, the Nathlaungkyauṅ. Shiva symbols and statues, though found at Pagan, are rare compared with Vaishnava; but the trident is still to be seen on the old glazed plaques at the Shwezayan pagoda at Thaton.⁶

Even in the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the later half of the dynasty we find traces of Brahmanical influence. A village named *Lintuṇ* (*Liṅga*) mentioned in an inscription⁷ dated A.D.1235 suggests the presence of phallic worship at one time. Another village called *Kulā Nat*⁸ in an inscription of A.D.1256 also suggests that the villagers once worshipped an Indian deity. God *Mahāpinnai* (*Mahā Vināyaka*) i.e. *Gaṇeśa* is mentioned in an inscription⁹ dated A.D.1279.

As regards *Gāvaṃpati*, Dr C.O. Blagden describes him as 'the patron saint of the Mons' and 'the patron saint of Pagan'.¹⁰ In the Tainggyut inscription¹¹ (A.D. 1279) *Gavāṃpati* is mentioned together with the Buddha and his two chief disciples. Regarding this Professor Pe Maung Tin says:

It is interesting to note that here the Buddha is attended not only by his

1. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 37-8. A²⁶⁻³⁵

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-8. (O⁶, P⁶, Q⁶, B⁷ 10, 15, 19, C³ 10, 12, 16, 26, 33, 40, D⁴ 10, 23, 25, 38, A¹⁵, E¹⁰ 26, 30, 32, F¹⁰ 11, 28, 31, G³ 5, 11, 17, H¹⁶ 12, 14, 16, 23, 31, 36, 37, 43, J² 8, 14, 17, 19, K⁶ 16, L¹ 19, M³ 15)

3. *Ibid.*, P⁶, B³⁷, C³⁵, F³⁰, G³, H¹⁰, J¹⁴

4. *Ibid.*, D²⁹

5. *Ibid.*, H¹⁰ and H¹⁵

6. *JBRs*, XLII, i, 63 See also N.Ray: *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, pp.5, 8-9, 23, and 34.

7. Pl.128a¹⁰. This inscription is from Hsingut village, Shwebo.

8. Pl.388a¹⁰

9. Pl.262⁴¹⁶

10. *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, p.87. See also *ASB*, 1913, p.23

11. Pl. 6

two chief disciples but also by *Gavampati*, the patron of the Mons.¹

The Great Shwezigon inscription² mentions *Gavampati* as the son (i.e. disciple) of Buddha. In this matter Dr N. Ray says:

Gavampati, who is represented in Mon records as the son of the Lord Buddha, has rightly been styled as the patron saint of the Mons as well as the patron saint of Pagan.³

But Professor G. H. Luce seems to be a little reluctant to regard this deity as 'the patron saint of the Mons'. He says:

Gavampati, the so-called patron saint of the Mons, is frequently referred to, sometimes as 'my son' by the Buddha; his statue is placed besides that of the Buddha; Anorathā is said to have carved an image of him (List 23; 27.) but he is really a pre-Buddhist Shaivaite deity, the 'Lord of Oxen', and perhaps a god of drought and wind.⁴

He appears to have decided that *Gavampati* was a pre-Buddhist Shaivaite deity. The trouble, however, is that there are many *Gavampati*: the cow-lord, the lord of the rays, the sun, the name of Agni, the name of a snake demon and lastly but not the least the name of a Buddhist mendicant.⁵ *Gavampati Thera*⁶ was one of the well-known disciples of the Lord Buddha and therefore one wonders whether the *Gavampati* of the Pagan inscriptions was the *Gavampati Thera* or *Gavampati*—the Shaivaite deity. The fact that the Buddha addressed *Gavampati* as 'my son'⁷ and that his statue is placed among the Buddhist canonical works in one case⁸ and in another⁹ together with the statues of *Sāriputtā* and *Moggallāna*, suggests that the inscriptions were referring to *Gāvampati Thera*. Be that as it may we are safe in saying that the Buddhism which the Burmans received from the Mon was far from pure even though the chronicles claim otherwise.

After the death of *Thiluin Man* (1084-1113) Mon influence gradually waned and so our inscriptions are largely in Burmese (with the exception of a few which are in Pali or Pali mixed up with Burmese.)

Ratanā sum pā: is the Burmese phrase for Three Gems, i.e. *Purhā*—the Lord, *Tryā*—the Law, and *Ṣaṅghā*—the Order. They were as important to the medieval Burman as they

1. JBRs, XXVI, i, p. 56

2. Ep. Birm., I, ii, A⁵², 114

3. N. Ray: *Brahmanical Gods of Burma*, p. 17

4. JBRs, XLII, i, 62. See also Przyluski: *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 239-56.

5. Monier-Williams: *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 351

6. Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pālī Proper Names*, I, pp. 756-8. The *Sāsanavāṃsa* (p. 36ff. of the Text, and p. 41ff. of the Translation by B. C. Law) speaks of a *thera* by this name, at whose request the Buddha went to *Suddhammapura* in the Rāmaṇṇa country to establish his Religion.

7. Ep. Birm., I, ii, p. 114

8. Ep. Birm., III, i, pp. 37-8

9. Pl. 6^e

are to-day. Sāsana—the Religion, was equally important to him and he considered himself always responsible for its maintenance. He dedicated lands, slaves, cattle, precious metals, food and various other articles of daily use from a costly robe to a spittoon, as a means of support to them (*rattana 3 pā so tui e' paccā phlac cim so nhā*).¹ It was then, as it is at present the popular belief that the Religion of the Lord shall last for 5000 years (*sāsana anha 5000 mlok on tañ rac cim, so nhā*).² As there is no canonical work which supports the theory that the Religion shall last only 5000 years, the late Ādiccavaṃsa suggested that

the Religion shall stand for five thousand, six thousand, seven thousand (years) or even more without any limit.

But he put a saving clause by saying that as long as there are believers there is the Religion. Though his suggestion is extremely sound he nevertheless suffered *pakāsaniyakamma* (excommunication) in 1935 for making remarks which upset popular beliefs.³ Thus the old Burman just as his modern counterpart dogmatically believed that the Religion would last for only 5000 years and that it was his duty to support it. To fulfil these duties meant working for one's own salvation. The Religion taught him that nothing was permanent in this world and that wealth accumulated in this life cannot buy longevity and when he dies he leaves everything behind. The only thing that would help him in his journey through Samsāra was to spend his wealth in charity and thereby accumulate merit. The following excerpt illustrates this very well.

//*Sakara 653 khu Namyun l-chañ 11 ryak 5 niy Acaw Racasū ceti tañ so Skhiñ Racasū mi nhalum thit lan lat rakā / ña e' mi pha phiy phuiw tuiw le amuy utcā tuiw kuiw cwan kha ruy swā kha kun e' / khyat cwā so ñā sā lha le amuy uccā nhañ akwa ñā mi rañ kuiw cwan kha prī kā / ñā le sū ma yū nuiñ ruy thā kha so amuy uccā kuiw ñā le thuiw suiw lañkon ma pā tat so akron kuiw si rakā / ñā mi ñā pha ñā sā amlyuiw khapsim kuiw niyrapan e' paccāñ athok apañ phlac cim so nhā lhu tum so*⁴

On 9 May 1291, the founder of Acaw Racasū pagoda—the mother of Lord Racasū was startled at heart and she said: "My parents, my grand parents and my great grand parents have all gone, abandoning their inherited property. Now my beloved and handsome son has gone likewise abandoning his inherited property and myself—his own mother. Knowing that I too cannot take away with me (this) inherited property which they have left behind because they could not take it, I dedicate it so that it may be one of the attributes for my mother, my father, my son and all my relatives attaining nirvana".

1. Pl.241⁵

2. Pl.732⁶, Pl.901⁴, Pl.1577, Pl.205⁵, Pl.228b², etc.

3. See Ādiccavaṃsa: *Bhikkhunsāsanaopadesa*, pp.19 and 56 and also *Bhikkhuni Are: Puth*. Taw Sein Ko also observed that 'it is idle to set bounds to the limits of eternity.' *Burmese Sketches I* (1913) pp.60-1

4. Pl.272⁵ 1-6. See also *JBR*, XXVI, i, 54 and XXVI, iii, 137.

Thus giving away one's own property in charity without limit or possibility of an equal return (*asadisadāna*)¹ if possible was believed as one of the means of acquiring merit which is an attribute towards the final attainment of *nirvana*. After every act of merit the donor would pray, for instance,

//iy nā koṇmhū mū so klañcū phlañ, kāh Mittyā purhāh skhiñ purhāh phlac sū rhāw āh arahantā chu ra luiw sū te//2

For the benefit of this act of merit I made, may I get the boon of arahantship when *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha.

This is the typical prayer one finds in the inscriptions of our period. Donors wanted the boon of *nirvana* in the form of a mere *araha* when *Bodhisattva Maitreya* becomes the Buddha. But there were also exceptions to this rule—the most ambitious asked for the boon of Buddhahood. We will consider such exceptions in detail later.

We may safely assume that the *Sāsana* had a great influence over the Burmans of our period. What the *Sāsana* taught them, how they interpreted it and how it influenced in their daily life is best illustrated in the following inscription dated AD 1266.

...Mathi Luiw mlii // mañ miyā Siṅhasū sami // phlac sa chuiw ṇray uiw mañ sa chuiw ṇray siy so chuiw ṇray ma khyat sa sū nhañ akwa niy sa chuiw ṇray khyat sa sū nhañ kwiyañ sa chuiw ṇray luiw ruy ma ra sa chuiw ṇray // iy siw ka ca so atuiñ ma si sa chuiw ṇray tuiw sañ nhip cak so khandhā kuiw cwan thā kha ruy chuiw ṇray khapsim kañ so khyamsā cwā so mlat so niyraban kuiw lhyañ nā luiw sate hū ruy khyat cwā so mlat so rhuy niy ka ca so utcā tuiw kuiw cwan ruy plu so kloñ twañ niy so satañ samādhi prañā hū so klañ-jū sum pā kuiw rhā so satañ cañ so purhā tape, sā rahan sañghā khyamsā cim so nā lay uyan kywan khapañ akrwañ may lhyañ lhu e, // iy nā tuiw plu so koṇmhu akuiw // atuiw khapsim so kuiw acuiw ra so riy mlii askhiñ phlac so mañkri le ra ciy e, // iy koṇmhu ānubhaw phlañ prañ tuiñ kā khapsim so nhuik niy so lū khapsim so e, aci apliwā khyamsā kuiw rhā piy lyak sak tauw rhañ cwā niy ruy i, koṇmhu kuiw thok pañ ciy sate // amipurhā ca so moṇma tauw khapsim le ra ciy e, // akhyañ khyañ amyak a-i ta ciy ma hiy khyat sa myak ciy phlañ rhu kra ra ciy e, // yakhu hi so noñ phlac lat am so mañkri mañsā amattyā ca so sū khapsim le ra ciy sate ariy aram yū pā ciy sate // Yama mañ ca so sattawā khapsim le ra ciy sate // ara ami kuiw luiw so sū kā ara ami ra ciy e, // koṇmhu kuiw mū lui so sū kā koṇmhu kuiw mū ra ciy e, // nā le rammak kri sa ma roñ ray tat so // amyak kri so sū tac thū kuiw nāhan chay tat so prañā ma hiy so muik so wantuiw so apiy akam ma hiy so // saccā ma hiy so plak tat so // miy lyaw so o miy ta sa kañ so m2 phlac mū ruy rammak nañ so roñ ray lway so // amyak nañ so sanā tat so prañā hiy so akroñ kuiw si tat so wan ma tuiw so apiy akam hiy so saccā hiy so ma plak tat so ma miy lyaw so ok miy ta sa hiy sq iy siw so klāñ-jū tuiw nhañ plañ-jum lyak sañsarā nhuik kyañ loñ ruy Mittaryā purhā myakmhok kañkā lhyañ // 0 // mlat sa aklwat taryā ra luiw sate // 0 // 3

1. Pl. 275¹²

2. Pl. 23¹⁰. See also Pl. 246¹³, Pl. 253b²⁰, etc.

3. Pl. 216¹¹⁻¹⁵

I, the grand daughter of *Mathi Luiw*, the daughter of *Singhasū* (one of King *Klacwā*'s sons) and the queen of King (*Tarukpiiy*), wish to abandon (this) body oppressed by countless miseries—the misery of birth, old age and death, the misery of living with those one does not love and of separation from those one love, the misery of wanting a thing and not getting it. I want the bliss of *Nirvana* which is the end of all miseries. For the fulfilment of this desire I relinquish gold, silver and other treasures which are dear and precious to me and build a monastery for the monks—the pupils of the Lord, pure in piety and ever seeking the three graces of self-restraint, self-possession and wisdom. In order that these monks be well provided, I offer (all my) fields, gardens and slaves, excepting none. May the merit of our meritorious deed go (first) to the king, ruler of us all and lord of the land and water. By virtue of this act of merit may he live long, seeking the prosperity and happiness of all those who live in the realm and upholding this foundation. May the queens also, and all the ladies-in-waiting share it. May they look at one another with eyes of love, without one speak of anger or cloying. Starting with the present reigning king, the future kings, the princes, the ministers, may all of them also share the merit. May they uphold this foundation. May all beings beginning with King *Yama* also share it. May those who desire worldly prosperity get it. May those who prefer to do good deeds, do them. For myself I pray that I may never be covetous, insatiate, wrathful, bullying, ignorant, stupid, mean, uncharitable, faithless, frivolous, forgetful, nor ungrateful. But I would cross *Samsāra* full of these good graces—modest in my wants, easily satisfied, mild of temper, pitiful, wise, conscious of causes, generous, large-handed, faithful, earnest, unforgetful and considerate; and may I win deliverance in the very presence of the Lord *Maitreya*.

Whether they derived the *Sāsanā* from either the *Mon* or the *Pyu* or from both, the old Burmans knew well that India was the birth place of the Religion that they had adopted. King *Thiluin Mai* (1084-1113) sent men, money and material to repair the holy temple at *Bodh Gaya*.¹ Probably, the pilgrims from Burma frequented the places in India associated with the life of Buddha. The text and translation of an inscription dated A.D.1298 will illustrate how much Burmans appreciated India as the home of the Buddha and his Religion.

// // *purhā skhiñ sāsana 218 lwan liy pri so akhā nhuik Camputip klwan kuiw acui.v si ra so Siridhammasoka mañ so mañkri ceti hyat soñ 4 thoñ athai nhuik chwam tau phun phi y rā pāyāsa i than kuw akhā liy mlañ pyak ruy plañ so Skhiñ Pañsakū kri ta yok thuiw priy to khyak pyak khay ra kā Satuiw mañ plu e' thuiw pri ta khyak pyak khay tum rakā Chañ Phlu Skhiñ tryā mañkri mimi kuiw cā chirya Siridhammarājākuru kuiw ciy tau mu lat so akhā nhuik pā lat so tape, sā Siri Kassapa sañ lup aṇ so uccā hi lyak mā lup rā tat rakā Wanawāsi Skhiñ thera kuiw chwam kham ciy rakā Putasin mañ hu e' lup ciy (m)u Skhiñ Nai kuiw mlat kri the kuiw akhwañ mu rakā Sakarac 657 khu Plasuiw l-chañ 10 ryak 6 niy plu tum e' Sakarac 660 Tanchoñmhun l-chañ 8 ryak Tanhañkanū ni lhu ce so tamikhwan kukā tamikhwan myāt tuiw kuiw le pucaw e' sañput thoñ chimi thoñ tuiw akrin myā cwā lhyañ pucaw e' sā sami hu mhat ruy suñai 2 yok rhyu pan ñuy pan khwak puchuiw*

chway so patañsā le pucaw e' akhā khapsim lhyāñ sañput wat ma prat'tañ cim so
kroñ mli kywan nwā tuiw kuiw le way ruy lhu khay i nā mu so koñmhu kā nippān
paccañ athok apañ phlac khyāñ sate ||| Myattañ purhā skhiñ lak thak lhyāñ rahanta
chu luiw sate!

After the lapse of 218 years of the Religion (i.e. in 326 B.C.) the great king named *Siridhammasoka* (*Asoka*), who was the ruler of *Jambudipa* island (built) 84000 *ceti* among which one was on the spot where Buddha ate [the milk rice? given him by *Sujātā* immediately before his enlightenment]. Due to the march of time, it became dilapidated. One Lord *Pamsukūlika* the Great repaired it. When it again became ruineous king *Satuiw* made (repairs). When again it was dilapidated, the great just king *Chan Phlu Skhiñ* sent his teacher *Siridhammarājākuru* (to effect repairs) on his behalf. Because *Siri Kassapa* the disciple who accompanied (*Siridhammarājākuru*), though he had the treasures (or funds) would not do it, *Wanawāsi Thera* had to beg alms (?seek permission from) King *Putasīn* (who) said "(You may) do it" to the reverend *thera* through Lord *Nai*. On Friday, 16 December 1295 (they) did it (i.e. started repairs). On Sunday, 13 October 1298 (?when the repairs were accomplished) many flags and streamers were offered for dedication. One thousand almsfood, (and) one thousand oil lamps were offered several times. Two children treated as (one's) own off-spring, a wish-tree for hanging gold flowers, silver flowers, trays and loin cloths were also offered. That there may be almsfood at all times, land, slaves and cows were bought and dedicated. May this meritorious deed be an attribute for attaining Nirvana in the form of an arahant when *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha.

From what we have seen it is evident that the old *Burmans* were conversant with Buddhism even before *Aniruddha's* conquest of Lower Burma. The *Pyu* of *Sriksetra* or the *Mon* of *Kyaukse* or both may have been their teachers. Whatever the chroniclers may have said the Buddhism introduced from Lower Burma was by no means pure. Buddhism practised in Pagan was a mixture of Naga worship, *Vaisnava Hinduism* and Buddhism. The people not only believed deeply in the Religion but practised it according to their own lights. They believed then, as at present that the Religion shall last for five millenium and that they were to support it to their utmost capacity, hence a great deal of dedications to the Religion. Allied with this belief was one which said that the gaining of merit by giving charity was the sure road to Nirvana. In conclusion they knew that India was the birthplace of Buddha and the Religion and therefore those who could afford to, made religious establishments there or repaired dilapidated ones.

PURHĀ

The word *purhā* means the Buddha himself or a pagoda where relics are enshrined. But a king is also addressed as *purhā* and his queen called by that name with a mi or ami prefix denoting female as *mi-purhā* and *ami-purhā*. Thus it became a title for all exalted persons. But to differentiate between the ecclesiastical and temporal lords, some scribes of old Pagan added descriptive phrases to *purhā*, e.g. *mlat cwā so purhā*¹—the most exalted *purhā*—when they wanted to signify the Buddha and *purhā rhan*²—the *purhā* who is living—to denote the then reigning king. The king is also mentioned as *purhālon*³—the Bodhisattva.

Dr C. O. Blagden thought that the word *purhā* was connected with vara. He says:

Purhā, now written (*bhurā*) but pronounced (**phaya**) and sometimes still (**phra**). This is the well-known Burmese expression applied to exalted personages; the Buddha is so called; the king was addressed with this word during the Burmese regime; the monks are still so styled when spoken to; nowadays, it is even used as epithet when addressing Government officials of a certain standing. The temples, pagodas and statues of the Buddha are also called (**phaya**). The form *purhā* as found in the present inscription, appears to be the oldest; it is found subsequently written *Purhā*, *bhurhā*, *phurhā*, *phurā*, and finally *bhurāh*. But this word is not, as might on the face of it be thought, Burmese in its origin; it is found, under very slightly different forms, all over Indo-China, and even in Java. Opinions still differ as to its derivation; some eminent authorities would derive it from vara, a Sanskrit and Pali word meaning "excellent noble, exalted"; this is the derivation generally accepted. Some years ago, Mr. Taw Sein Ko (*Burmese Sketches*, I, 1913, p. 30) suggested a derivation from the Chinese Fu-ya (now pronounced Fo-yeh). The form Fo-ya does not explain the *r* in the second syllable of the Burmese word; for there can be but little doubt, if at all, that this letter *r*, though now it is pronounced *y*, was sounded according to its original value in old Burmese, as a comparison with the languages most closely related to it—Tibetan, Lolo, Maru, etc.—abundantly shows; the full value of *r* is still retained in Arakanese, which is but Burmese of an archaic type. The form vara does not seem to explain the Burmese medial vowel *u* in *purhā*; but this vowel has been frequently developed in the first syllable of dissyllabic words when that syllable begins with a labial, but is now practically never pronounced; examples are numerous in Burmese. All evidence tends to show that the Sanskrit word vara is the original of this expression, found under several forms as *polai*, *phola*, *poula*, *purahā*, *phurā*, *pharā*, *phrā*, *phrayā*, *prah*, *prah*, *varah*, etc. This seems to be settled by the Phimanakas Inscription, where the old Khmer

1. Pl.18⁵, Pl.28a¹, Pl.28b¹, Pl.51¹, Pl.84⁴, Pl.130⁵, Pl.308¹, etc

2. Pl.113², Pl.115¹⁵, Pl.141a¹⁵, Pl.174¹⁴, Pl.194¹

3. Pl.36⁵, Pl.90^{2,5,6}, Pl.115⁵, Pl.133²⁰, Pl.143a^{9,12,14,15,16}, Pl.145^{11,12}, Pl.249²⁰, Pl.282²

text has *vrah*, *Īgvara*, the modern Cambodian being *prah* Eisor, and *vrah* Mahābodhi = *prah* Mahābodhi.¹

If *vara* is the root word for all similar words used all over South East Asia, the *Mon* word is an exception to it. In Old Mon "kyek"² means any worshipful person or object as well as "a statue of Buddha."

As we have said in Old Burmese the word *purhā* means any worshipful person or object. The Lord Buddha was *mlat cwā so purhā*—the most exalted lord—the Buddha icons were *purhā chañpu*³—the form of the Lord, *purhā ryap*⁴—the standing Buddha, *purhā thaway*⁵—the sitting Buddha, *purhā tantim*⁶—the recumbent Buddha, *purhā niyrapan*⁷—the dead Buddha, *ryapjuin purhā*⁸—images made to the donor's height, and *kuiw ryap tuiñ purhā*⁹—image made to the donor's measurements. Professor G.H. Luce wishes to connect *chañpu* or *achañpu* with the Pyu word *cha:bo* of the *Rājakumār* inscription where

//ḍhau ḥa: Ḭūḍha u cha: bo bradima tha tū ḥñ se kya // 10

is translated as "caused this golden image in the likeness of the Buddha to be made." The modern Burmese word for an icon is *chan:tu* which literally means an imitation of an appearance and we do not know why *pu* of *chañpu* is replaced by *tu* and becomes *chan:tu* to-day. In old Burmese the word *chañpu* is used for likeness made of stone or wood and also for paintings of Buddha that adorn the walls of hollow pagodas. As many as 14,619 pictures of the Buddha were painted within seventeen days (7 March to 24 March 1237)¹¹. In another case 4000 pictures of *chañpu* of the Buddha were painted on the four walls of a hollow pagoda built by *Kaṅgapikram* and his wife on 10 December 1253¹². Naturally *Gotama* Buddha would be painted or sculptured, but sometimes other Buddhas—the predecessors of *Gotama*, were also included in the paintings or their images would be found among the image of *Gotama* enshrined in a pagoda. For example, an inscription¹³ dated A.D.1274 mentions

1. *Ep. Birm.* I, i, pp. 26-7. See also BEFEO, XVIII, ix, pp. 9-12; Auguste Pavie: *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine 1879-1895, Études Diverses II, Recherches sur l'Histoire du Cambodge du Laos et du Siam* (Paris, 1898), p. 228, n.2 and p. 237, n.1; and Coedès: *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam I, Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (Bangkok, 1924) pp. 79-90
2. *Ep. Birm.* I, i, p. 57. See also Halliday: *A Mon-English Dictionary*, p. 64, when old Mon "kyek" appears as "kyait" (ကျိတ်) meaning "any object of worship, a god; also used in addressing a superior, lord."
3. Pl. 73¹⁵, Pl. 80¹⁵, Pl. 192¹², Pl. 234⁸, Pl. 238⁸, Pl. 248¹⁷, Pl. 249^{22, 23} and Pl. 269⁸
4. Pl. 66²¹, Pl. 97¹⁸, Pl. 104⁸, Pl. 130⁵, Pl. 132b⁸, Pl. 209⁴, Pl. 213¹⁴, Pl. 234⁹, Pl. 235b⁵, Pl. 385a⁴ and Pl. 393^{21, 25}
5. Pl. 130⁵, Pl. 153⁵, Pl. 213¹⁴, Pl. 229¹⁸, Pl. 234⁹ and Pl. 422b⁵. Unless otherwise stated *purhā thaway*—sitting Buddha—is always a cross-legged Buddha because the Buddha "sitting Europeanwise" is very rare in Burma.
6. Pl. 61⁷ and Pl. 132b⁷
7. Pl. 270^{7, 13, 14}
8. Pl. 130^{5, 4}, Pl. 209⁴, Pl. 253a⁸
9. Pl. 209⁴, Pl. 229¹⁷, Pl. 253a⁸
10. *Ep. Birm.* I, i, p. 62; Text A¹⁰, where *Cha:* is taken as likeness, having a close similarity to old Burmese *achāñ*
11. Pl. 105a⁶⁻⁸
12. Pl. 248^{16, 18}
13. Pl. 249^{21, 5}

that images of *Kakusankha*, *Konāgimana*, *Kassapa*, *Gotama* and *Maitryea* were made. In a relic chamber of a pagoda near the *Htilominlo* at Pagan unearthed in 1928, was found an image of the Buddha *Vessabhū* with a two line Pali inscription (in the same script as the Old Burmese) round the pedestal. It reads:

*Yo Vessabhū saridharo ca anantabuddhi sattuttamo dasa halo...dhammo kāyo
lokekacakkhu asamo sugato anejo vandāmitam saridharam atulam munindam...*¹

The (Buddha) *Vessabhū*, the Glorious, of Infinite Wisdom, the Greatest among beings...the One Spiritual Eye in the world, the Incomparable, the Blessed One, the Desireless; Him I rever, the Glorious, the Admirable, the Chief of Sages.

The painted Buddhas are more or less alike and usually the only way of differentiating the one from the other is by the different backgrounds in the form of Bodhi as each Buddha had his own particular Bodhi under which he attained enlightenment. The name of the Buddha and his Bodhi would be written below the painting.² Stories of the anterior births of *Gotama* Buddha known to the old Burmans sometimes as *jat nā ryā*³—500 birth stories, and sometimes as *jat 550*⁴—550 birth stories, are also popular themes for painting on the walls of hollow-pagodas. Actually there are only 547 stories,⁵ i.e. according to the Pāli texts which are still used in Burma and there are numerous Burmese translations of these stories. But as mentioned above, the old Burmans rounded up this figure 547 to 500 or 550 and even to-day, the Burmans refer to these stories as *nā rā, nā: chay*—five hundred and fifty. Strangely enough the *Jātaka* plaques at West *Peteik* pagoda, the construction of which goes back to the early part of the Pagan dynasty, give 550 stories. The additional three are (1) *Velāma jātaka*, (2) *Mahāgovinda jātaka* and (3) *Sumedhapandita jātaka*.⁶ There are six other pagodas belonging to this period which have these *jātaka* plaques and wherever the number can be ascertained, the number is 547. The six pagodas are:

1. The East *Peteik* Pagoda (by *Aniruddha*)
2. The *Shwesandaw* Pagoda (by *Aniruddha*)
3. The *Shwezigon* Pagoda (by *Thiluinman*)
4. The *Ananda* Pagoda (by *Thiluinman*)
5. The *Dhammayazika* Pagoda (by *Cañsū II*)
6. The *Mingalazedi* (by *Tarukpiy*)

The *Ananda* Pagoda has nearly 1500 *jātaka* plaques⁷ and the explanations to these are all in old *Mon*.⁸ The plaques are in two categories. Firstly, each plaque is assigned to

¹ *ASI*, 1928-9, pp.110-11, Plate LII (d)

² *JBR*, XXX, i, pp. 314-21, n.67, where Professor G.H. Luce gives the full list of 28 Buddhas and their respective trees as found in the fresco-writings (in both old Mon and old Burmese) of some pagodas at Pagan. See Appendix II

³ Pl. 73¹⁵

⁴ Pl. 105 a⁷

⁵ Fausboll's edition of *The Jātakas* (7 vols) (Trubner & Co., London, 1877-91) has also 547 stories

⁶ Duroiselle: "Pictorial Representations of *Jātakas* in Burma"; *ASI*, 1912-13, pp.87-119

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.91, n.1

⁸ These 389 plaques are edited and published: *Ep. Birn.* II, i & ii

represent one *jātaka* and secondly, 389 plaques on the last ten anterior lives of *Gotama* Buddha¹. These seem to be the most popular subjects for plaques or painting. At the *Ananda Pagoda* the order of arrangement for these ten stories varies slightly from the Sinhalese order² in the following manner.

Ananda	Sinhalese
1. <i>Mūgapakkha</i>	Ditto
2. <i>Mahājanaka</i>	Ditto
3. <i>Sāma</i>	Ditto
4. <i>Nimi</i>	Ditto
5. <i>Mahā-Ummagga</i>	<i>Khaṇḍahāla</i>
6. <i>Khaṇḍahāla</i>	<i>Bhūridatta</i>
7. <i>Bhūridatta</i>	<i>Mahānārada-kassapa</i>
8. <i>Mahānārada-kassapa</i>	<i>Vidhura</i>
9. <i>Vidhura</i>	<i>Mahā-Ummagga</i>
10. <i>Vessantara</i>	Ditto

But it agrees with the modern Burmese arrangement except that in the latter *Bhūridatta jātaka* comes before *Khaṇḍahāla jātaka*³.

The *Wetkyi-in Gubyaukgyi Pagoda*, Pagan, has many of these tales painted on its walls⁴. C. Duroiselle says⁵:

The interest attaching to this pagoda does not lie in any peculiarity of its architectural style, but in the fine frescoes painted on the interior walls depicting scenes from the *jātakas*... [In these pictures] the ground is chocolate; the hair is painted black; the dress of the personages, as well as the trees, black and white; and the nude parts of the body are coloured in burnt sienna.⁶

The life history of *Gotama* especially the part when he attained enlightenment is also very popular. The *Ananda Pagoda* has eighty stone reliefs on this episode.⁷

¹ See also Pl. 242²⁷

² See Fausboll: *The Jātakas*, Vol. VI (1896) and *Ep. Birm.*, II, i, Introduction, p. v

³ In abbreviated form the order is *Te Ja Su Ne Ma Bhū Cam Nā Wī We* in which *Te* is for *Temī Jāt* or *Mūgapakkha*, *Ja* for *Mahājanaka*, *Su* for *Suvanna Sāma*, *Ne* for *Nemi Jāt* or *Nimi*, *Ma* for *Mahā jāt* or *Mahā-Ummagga*, *Bhū* for *Bhūridatta*, *Cam* for *Candakumārājāt* or *Khaṇḍahāla*, *Nā* for *Mahānārada-kassapa*, *Wī* for *Vidhura* and *We* for *Vessantara*. Even to-day in Burma, it is believed that writing these ten abbreviated names by stylus on ones finger nails prevent all dangers and this sort of precaution is resorted to especially in times of epidemics like plague, cholera and smallpox.

⁴ Professor G. H. Luce in *JPRS*, XXXII, i, 85 says that the paintings of the *Gubyaukgyi* at *Wetkyi-in* are 'the pride of the Burmese painter's art'.

⁵ *ASI*, 1912-13, p. 93 and Pl. LX, figures 57, 58, 59

⁶ C. Duroiselle believes that originally there were 547 frescoes, half of which were on the northern wall and the remainder on the south. In 1899, Dr. Thomman, who worked in the interest of the *Hamburg Ethnographical Museum*, tried to take them away but was stopped. Thus, out of 547 frescoes only 210 remain. Each *Jātaka* measures 5½" by 6½" and the remaining portion of the paintings on the north wall measures 13'11" by 3'5" and on the south 6'11" by 3'5". They are in a very dilapidated condition.

⁷ Duroiselle: *The Ananda Temple at Pagan* (Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs, No. 56), p. 11

In the niches of the Ananda are numerous Buddha icons. Roughly they fall into two types: one seated on a throne in *Vyākhyāna mudrā*—the act of preaching with the hands before the breast, and the other in the common *Bhūmisparśa mudrā*—earth touching attitude. It is of note that seven of the images have no *ushnisha*—the accretion on the head (see illustration), and many of them have normal fingers quite distinct from the modern images with fingers of the same length. In the middle of the temple stand four colossal images placed back to back and each facing the four cardinal points. The height of the pedestal is 8 feet and each image stands 31 feet high. Starting from the north these images represent respectively the four Buddhas viz. *Kakusandha*, *Koṇāgamana*, *Kassapa* and *Gotama* of which only two images, those on the north and south are considered to be original and contemporary with the foundation of the pagoda. They both have their hands raised to the breast in the *dharmacakra mudrā*¹. The image on the western side i.e. of *Gotama* has two statues flanking its sides. These images have been identified by some authorities as those of *Thiluin Mañ* and *Mahāthera Arahan*.

The king has the usual royal ornaments, viz. a crown, a necklace or breast-plate and anklets. His dress consists of a close-fitting jacket and a lower garment of which the folds are clearly discernible. Shin *Arahan* is distinguishable by his cleanshaven head and the lack of ornaments².

In the west porch there are also two *Buddha-pāda*—Buddha's foot-prints—each bearing the traditional 108 marks.³ The *Lawkananda* pagoda and the *Shwezigon* pagoda have also similar foot-prints dating back to our period.⁴ One inscription dated A.D. 1294 mentions a *Buddha-pāda* being painted with various colours.⁵

Professionals who made images of Buddha were called *purhāsamā* and they were paid either in cash or kind or sometimes both. In one instance a female slave was sold to pay the image-maker.⁶ The *Sawhlawin* inscription (1236)⁷ records that wages for the *purhā samā* were 30 ticals of silver, one piece of black linen and one horse for making ten *purhā ryap*—standing Buddhas.

Sometimes the height or the height and weight of a standing Buddha equalled the height or the height and weight of the donor and such a one was called a *ryapauṇipurhā* or the *kuiw ryap tuñ purhā* but this is not synonymous with "portrait-statues" of Khmer Cambodia where a royal personage was thus apotheosized. The following extract will show us that a standing Buddha was made equal in height to that of the king (*Klacwā*) but it was not the portrait-statue of the king apotheosized as Buddha.

1 *ASI*, Memoir No. 56, Plate VII, figs. 1 & 2

2 *Ibid*, p.13

3 Commentaries like *Anāgatavamsa-Atthakathā*, *Samanaboddikā Appakathā* and *Jindānāraṇṇikā* have the full list.

4 Pl.238¹⁹

5 Pl.97⁵, 16, 18, 21

6 For a full discussion see U Mya: "A Note on the Buddha's Foot-Prints in Burma", *ASI*, 1930-4, Part 2, pp.320-31

7 Pl.283⁷

8 L.P. Briggs: *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, pp.229-30

//Sakarac 600) *pusa nhac Namkã la chan 4 ryak Krassapatiy niy skhiñ Ui Plañ Wa Sañ kuiw atuiw skhiñ Rājāsū piy taw mū so Toñ Ni Nā Chū kywan 73 yok sa kã mañ aryap taw tuiñ anok purhã ryap 1 chū skhiñ Ui Plañ Wa Sañ aryap tuiñ rhuy purhã ryap 1 chū rhuy purhã thaway 2 chū i purhã 4 chū so kuiw lup klwañ ciy hu lñu sate*||¹

On 17 July 1238, seventy three slaves (from) *Nā Chū* of *Toñ Ni*, given by Lord *Rājāsū* to Lady *Ui Plañ Wa Sañ* were dedicated to look after four images of the Buddha (namely) a standing Buddha on the west made to the height of the king, a gold standing Buddha made to the height of Lady *Ui Plañ Wa Sañ* and two gold sitting Buddhas.²

There are many instances of these *ryāptuiñ purhã* and *kuiw ryāp tuiñ purhã*. One *Nā Nuiw Sañ* in A.D. 1263 made *kuiw ryāp tuiñ purhã*—an image equal to his weight—and dedicated three slaves to look after the image when he and his beloved wife passed away.³ In A.D. 1270 two ladies of *Sacmati* (near Pagan) who called themselves *sukrway ma kri*—elder rich woman—and *sukrway mañai*—younger rich woman—made two images as tall as themselves and dedicated slaves to administer to them.⁴ The king's *mañ myā moñ*—brother-in-law, *Nā Mryat Sañ* also made an image of his height and weight.⁵ In A.D. 1276 the wife of *Phun Sañ Jayabhin* dedicated slaves to an image made to her height.³ Nevertheless there is no indication whatever for considering these *ryāp tuiñ purhã* as "portrait statues". They were just the images of Buddha except for the fact that they are of the donor's measurements. Perhaps the donor's ambition was the boon of Buddhahood.

To consider the Buddha as God would be absurd, but to some early Burmans he was something similar. Infinite faith in Him gave, it is believed, long life and happiness. One donor called *Jayyasāñ* spent 10,000 ticals of silver in A.D. 1197 in founding religious establishments leaving aside some treasures for repairs when necessary. Then he said:

//mlat cwā so purhã skhiñ e ānūphaw nuik asak rhañ e, hū mū kã nā plu lā am sate
//ñā asa te mā rhañ mū kã// ñā miyyā //skhiñ// Nā Koñ Rhañ Sañ Skhiñ Nā (Thwak)
Sañ //Skhiñ Noñ Thoñ// i mhyā so plu am so hut a||⁶

If the most exalted Lord wills it I will live long and do the repairs (myself). If I do not live long, let my wife and (my) lords (of the monastery) *Nā Koñ Rhañ Sañ*, *Nā Thwak Sañ*, and *Noñ Thoñ* do the repairs.

Thus in A.D. 1190 a donor named *Singhāsūra* dedicated musicians such as *cañsañ*—drummers, and *pantyā*—nautes, for the enjoyment of music.⁷ Old Burmans apparently thought the Buddha was a living deity. May be as a super celestial king because they endowed Him with all the earthly luxuries that a mighty potentiate has. Slaves dedicated to Him were of various professions. Such musicians as *pasāsāñ*⁸—side drummers, *saro sañ*⁹—violinist,

1 Pl.130¹⁻⁵

2 See also *JBRs*, XXVI, i, p.58

3 Pl.209¹⁻⁵

4 Pl.229^{17, 18, 19}

5 Pl.253a⁶

6 Pl.185⁹

7 Pl.10a¹⁶

8 Pl.10a¹⁶, Pl.31¹, Pl.105a²⁵, Pl.138¹⁰ & Pl.387a⁵

9 Pl.387a⁵

*ñhañ sañ*¹—trumpeters, *candrā sañ*²—?dulcimer players, *sikrañ sañ*³—singers, and *kukhriy sañ*⁴—dancers, were also mentioned in the inscriptions of our period as slaves for the Buddha. The wife of *Kāṅkasū*⁵ gave the services of such persons as *panpwat*—turners, *panpu*—sculptors, *pankhi*—painters, *puran*—masons, *cāriy*—secretaries, *nwāthin*—cowherds, *panthin*—goldsmiths, *ūyan sañ*—gardeners, and *kuhā sañ*—launderers, when she dedicated them to the Buddha in A.D. 1242. In the same year *Cuiw Mañ* gave to the Buddha slaves such as *sanryañ sañ*—palanquin bearers, *kuhā sañ*—launderers, *thi sañ*—umbrella bearers, and *rañ sañ*—weavers⁶. In A.D. 1243, *Samanta Kumtham*, the uncle of King *Uccanā* (?1249-56) dedicated an elephant called *Ña Khyāt Phuy* to the Buddha and his disciples⁷. Such slaves as *muchit rip*⁸—barbers, *hañ sañ thamāñ sañ amay sañ*⁹—cooks, and *kwam sañ*¹⁰—servers of betel, were also dedicated to the Buddha. The following extract from an inscription (A.D. 1241) recording the offerings of *Cāw*, the queen of *Narasīngha-Uccanā* (?1231-5) is a very good example of how the Buddha is served with articles of daily use.

[[parikkhārā]] ok purhā sañkan tāw tuyañ 1 [[tankhyat]] athak purhā sañkan tāw tankyat riw 1 [[rhuy salawan 1]] imrā tāw nak pūcañ tamtūiñ 1 [[kham tañ mwan 1]] khañ nhī ūm acum]] kwam khyap 1 kriy chīmī tūiñ kriy pratuiw, [[kriy krā kri 1]] khoñ loñ chway so chañ krā 1 [[rhuy sapit huy sapit kriy pway 2 khu]] lañpan 2 khlap khwak 5 up [[caloñ kri 1]] narañcārā 8 khlap nolāñ 9 khlap [[khwak khwañ sum chū khyū 3 chū]] ... [[parikkhārā kā rhuy salawan kri myak khat]] pratuiw 1 [[kriy krā]] khwak khriy lañpan nhac khlap]] khwak 5 up [[caloñ]] 11

Professor Pe Maung Tin's remark and translation of this extract is reproduced below.

The anthropomorphism of Buddha-worship is well brought out in L.254 (Pl.138). The requisite things are for lower Buddha his wearing apparel 1 outer robe, 1 inner garment (?*tankyat*); for the upper Buddha his wearing apparel 1 embroidered inner garment, 1 gold couch, 1 apartment for his dwelling-place, 1 high cot complete with bed-covers and pillows, 1 betel box, copper oil lampstands, copper spittoons, 1 big copper kettle, 1 elephant-lotus from which the bell is hung, golden bowls, silver bowls, 2 pestles, 2 trays, 5 covered dishes, 1 big cooking pot-lid, 8 pieces of *narañcārā*, 9 of gongs, 3 cymbals, 3 castanets ... The requisite things are 1 big gold couch studded with gems, spittoon, copper kettle, 2 trays with cup-legs, 5 covered dishes, cooking pot-lid. It will be noticed that the lower Buddha is not wearing his royal outer robe (the *duyañ*) as he is represented as being 'at home', just as a king with his robe off might recline on the couch in his state-room after supper, chewing his betel as he listens to the strains of music.¹²

1 Pl.396b¹⁸

2 Pl.85⁹

3 Pl.31⁶, Pl.421b⁴

4 Pl.151², Pl.314, Pl.1022⁵, Pl.391⁴

5 Pl.144^{4, 16}

6 Pl.148b^{5, 10}

7 Pl.152²⁴

8 Pl.395³⁰

9 & 10 Pl.391^{30, 34}

11 Pl. 1381⁵⁻¹⁷, 20-1

12 JBRS. XXVI. i. p.61

Most donors prayed for nirvana with no specifications. In some inscriptions we find that the donors prayed for Buddhahood. It is interesting because it is exceptional. Only the most ambitious reached for nirvana as the Buddhas. A king (most probably of the earlier half of the Pagan dynasty) prayed for Buddhahood.

*Siri Tribhuvanādityawaradhamma disampatiakāsi buddhapaṭimamimam sambodhi pattiyaṭi Sri Tribhuvanādityawaradhammarāja (dānapati)*¹

Sri Tribhuvanāditya, the noble and righteous Lord of the Regions, made this image of the Buddha, for the attainment of omniscience. *Sri Tribhuvanādityawaradhammarāja* (the Donor).

The Great Shwezigon inscription² mentions that king *Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* (*Thiluiṇ Mañ*) also prayed for omniscience. His successor King *Caṅsū* I after the completion of Shwegugyi pagoda prayed thus:

in strong desire for Buddhahood, he cried aloud this aspiration: "As this great Being, having fulfilled the ten Perfections and attained perfect knowledge, has released beings from bondage, so also would I hereafter, fulfilling the ten Perfections and having attained perfect knowledge, release beings from bondage!"³

In the Khemawara pagoda inscription, It is recorded that King *Nātoṇmyā* made a dedication with the desire to attain Buddhahood. It says:

*//Sakarac 569 khu Jitasā...samiwacchir nhac Tankhu l-chañ 1 ryak 5 niy ā Sri Tribhuvanādityāpawaradhammarājā mañ so Nātoṇmyā mañkri sañ sabbañu phurhā chu kuiw luiw khyañ ruy//*⁴

On 18 March 1208, the great king *Nātoṇmyā* called *Sri Tribhuvanādityāpawaradhammarājā*, desiring the boon of omniscience—Buddhahood, (made the following dedications).

Actually all the kings of the Pagan dynasty prayed for Buddhahood and *purhālon*⁵—the future "purhā" or *purhā rhañ tañ*⁶—the living "purhā", in the inscriptions of this period invariably means the then reigning king.

Apart from the kings some great ministers and learned scholars too asked for the Buddhahood in their prayers. A few extracts given below regarding this particular kind of prayer will give us a good picture of what they felt about Buddhahood. In A.D.1190, *Singhasū* (*Nātoṇmyā*'s minister) prayed thus:

*sañssārā chuiw nray khappāy soh kun rā phlac so sabbañu mañ so // purhā aphiac kuiw luiw soh kroñ,*⁷

1 Pl.568b

2 *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, ID¹⁵-17, pp.102 and 121

3 Pl.1 stanzas 30-2; *BBHC*, I, i, 19

4 Pl.31¹⁻³

5 Pl.36⁵, Pl.90^{2,5,6}, Pl.115^{5,5}, Pl.133²⁹, etc.

6 Pl.113², Pl.115¹⁵, Pl.141¹⁵, Pl.174¹⁴, Pl.194¹, etc.

7 Pl.10a²⁻⁴

(I made this dedication) because I want *saṃānī* which is also called Buddhahood —the end of all miseries in the chain of rebirths.

Knowing that such a reward will be fulfilled only in a very remote future, he took special care to ask for all good things in the intermediate lives before he attained Buddhahood. Perhaps his love of music also compelled him to ask as follows:

//*purhā ma phrac so krā // pañcaṅgatūr mañ so cañ āhyañ phlañ nhuw tha tha so cañcim luiw ra kā // cañ kri pantiyā plu so // cañsañ kā*//¹

Meantime, before I become the Buddha, I want the fortune of being excited by the five kinds of musical instruments such as drums and trumpets. Therefore I dedicate the following players on big drums and *nautches*. The drummers are...

As one who prays for Buddhahood should receive the prophecy of the Buddhas about his future enlightenment² he is very anxious to meet *Maitreya* the next Buddha and to receive a prophecy from his very lips. In A.D. 1182 one donor prayed to this effect.

//*nā kā Mitryā purhā shhiñ tham byadissa ra (u)iy sattwā khapsim so kūw sañsarā chuiw nray mha kāy pi tat so phlac lūw so te*//³

May I receive from *Maitreya* the prophecy (of my future Buddhahood) and become the Buddha so that I may be able to redeem all beings from the miseries of *saṃsāra*.

An inscription of A.D. 1198 gives us a rough idea of the means to attain Buddhahood. He said:

//*iy mhyā so koñmhu akuiw phlañ // stañ sum so akuiw phlañ // byat-rā mū so aklaw phlañ // alhū piy so akluw phlañ // purhā chū nā rā luiw so te*//⁴

For the benefit of this amount of merit (namely) the benefit for observing the religious precepts, the benefit for (?meditating on kindness and love) and the benefit for giving away ones property in charity, may I receive the reward of Buddhahood.

The ten *pāramī*⁵ must be fulfilled in order to reach the highest form of enlighten-

1. Pl. 10a¹⁴⁻¹⁷. See also *JBRs*, XXVI, iii, 135

2. *Mahāvamsa* (1950 Reprint) pp. 1-2; Pl. 8a⁶, Pl. 28324, *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, Ayetthama Hill inscription (now at the Rangoon University Library) V⁵⁰

3. Pl. 8a⁵⁻⁶

4. Pl. 2117-19

5. Queen Saw in an inscription dated A.D. 1291 (Pl. 27334) mentioned that there are 10 *pāramī* for those who aspire for Buddhahood. They are:

1. *Dā apāramī* (the perfection of charity)
2. *Sī apāramī* (the perfection of behaviour)
3. *Nekkhammapāramī* (the perfection of renunciation)
4. *Paññāpāramī* (the perfection of wisdom)
5. *Vīriyapāramī* (the perfection of effort)
6. *Khanti pāramī* (the perfection of patience)
7. *Saccapāramī* (the perfection of truth)
8. *Adhiṭṭhānapāramī* (the perfection of resolution)
9. *Metāpāramī* (the perfection of love)
10. *Up. khāpāramī* (the perfection of equanimity)

But according to W. Geiger (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 2, n. 1) this idea of 10 *pāramī* is late as they are not mentioned in the four *Nikāya*. See also Pl. 3902, Pl. 4132

ment, i.e. Buddhahood. What is the extent of time required to fulfil there *pāramī*? Jayasettthe (son-in-law of King Caṇṣū II) said that it would require

liṃsaṅghey amlat kambhā tac sin¹ — 4 asaṅkheyya plus 100,000 kappa.

Kappa means the life of the earth and *asaṅkheyya*² means incalculable.

Medieval Burmans have coined a beautiful phrase of their own for the Pali word *sabbaññutāṇāṇa* or omniscience as *si cap mraṇ nham*—"know wide, see deep"³. Thus the Buddha knows everything and to obtain such a state of perfect knowledge certainly would require a very long time of practice and piety. *Anantasūra*, the Commander-in-chief of King *Nātoṇmyā* gave the reason of his dedication as:

ñā le si cap mraṇ nham, so sabbaññutāṇāṇa purhā chu kuiw luiw khlyāṇ so kroṇ⁴

Because I also desire the boon of Buddhahood or *sabbaññutāṇāṇa* which is to know wide and see deep.

The famous monk *Mahākassapa* whom we believe to be the head of the *Araññavāsī*—forest dwelling sect, used a similar phrase when he prayed for omniscience. He said:

iy nā mū so koṇmhu akuiw phlaṇ kā si cap mraṇ cap so sabbaññutāṇāṇa purhā chu kuiw lhyāṇ luiw sate //⁵

For the benefit of this merit (that) I made, may I get the boon of Buddhahood—*sabbaññutāṇāṇa* which is to know wide and see wide.

Lady *Caw*, the aunt of King *Tarukpliy* also used the same phrase when she asked for Buddhahood.

/Sakarac 622 khu Kratuik samwarecchā nhac Namyun l-chut 3 ryak Caniy niy phurhā rhān tāw ari Caw i lu twaṇ nhuik atuiṇ ma si satdhā lā rhuy plu so koṇmhu akuiw kā riy mliy khapsimim so askhiṇ phlac so maṅkri ca so maṇṇi maṇṣā maṇṣami maṇṇhama khapsim amiphurhā ca so moṇma khapsim amattyā ca so puilpā khapsim // ok Awicīy ca so athak phwak tuiṇ oṇ atuiw cakkrawalā ca so atuiṇ ma si so cakkrawalā nhuik niy so lū nat sattawā khapsim akrwaṇ may saphlaṇ saṇsarā chaṇ ṇray mha thwak mlok kha ruy chaṇṇray may so nirrabban praṇ suiw rok ciy khlyāṇ so kroṇ // nā le si cap mraṇ nhamim so sabbaññutāṇāṇa purhā chu kuiw luiw so kroṇ //⁶

1. Pl. 154-6 (A.D. 1197) See also Pl. 390², Pl. 413²

2. "The neuter *Asaṅkheyyam* is the highest of the numerals, and is equal to 10,000,000²⁰ or 1 followed by 140 cipher." R.C. Childers: *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (1875) p. 59

3. *JBRs*, XXII, iii, p. 126 (Know thorough, see extensive)

4. Pl. 735-6 (A.D. 1223)

5. Pl. 140b22-5 (A.D. 1242)

6. Pl. 1941-6

On Saturday 28 May 1260, (Lady) Caw, the aunt of the reigning king (Tarukplyi) made dedications (as she was) in this life greatly moved by faith (in the Religion). As for the benefits of this meritorious deed, may all (the Royalty) starting with the Great King who is the lord of all water and land, all the King's brothers, all the King's sons, all the King's daughters and all the King's sisters, all the ladies-in-waiting starting with the queens, all the retinues starting with the ministers, all beings including mankind and deva living in this universe between Avici below and zenith above and in all other universes without number, be freed from the miseries of rebirth and reach the city of Nirvana where there is no misery. I also want omniscience, to know wide and see deep¹ i.e. the boon of Buddhahood.

Minister Jeyapikrama gave another interpretation of Buddhahood. He said:

...ram mak 1,000 mha kan ruy saccā tryā 4 pā pwan so sabbaññutāññā prañā ra ruy purhā lhyāñ phlac luiw sate²

May I become a Buddha endowed with the wisdom of sabbaññutāññā when the Law of Four Truths blossomed (within me) and I am free from the 1500 desires.

In A.D. 1276, Princess Acaw after obtaining the King's permission, built a monastery for Anantapañā on a site to the east of Āmanā (Minnanthu) and dedicated 1366 pay of land and 149 slaves to the above religious establishment that she had founded. Then she explains the reason for her donation:

//i y mhya lok so uccā kuiw kā nā ma khyac ruy lhu sa kā ma hut // i y uccā kuiw khyac so thak-kā purhā aphlac kuiw khyac mlat cwā rakā nā lhu sate³

I dedicate so much property not that I do not love it but that I love Buddhahood more.

In A.D. 1291 another Caw, this time a queen of Tarukplyi (probably the famous Queen Saw of the chronicles)⁴ prayed for Buddhahood.

| achum cwan so kuiw aphlac nhuik-kā // Mittaryā purhā skhiñ tañ tay khrañ suiw lhyāñ tañtay lyak // lū nat khapsi so kuiw // sañsarā chuiw nray mha kay piy lyak // niyrapan prañ krī suiw lhyāñ choñ piy kun lyak // sabbaññuta-ñan purhā chū lhyāñ plañ-cum khlyāñ e, // ⁵

In my last life I want sublimity of the same nature as the sublimity of the Lord Maitreya and after helping all the men and deva out of the miseries of samsārā

1. This phrase si cap nrañ nham for omniscience has lost its original meaning with the passage of time and in its new form si nrañ nham, cap it only means resourcefulness.

2. Pl. 17527-8

3. Pl. 344b12-14

4. JBRs XXXII, i, p. 81: "...the great Queen Saw (Co) of the chronicles is a medley of at least two Saws of history. Nor did she start as a farmer's daughter, with the lowly if useful function of scratching the king's back when he was itchy: she was, on the contrary, the first lady of the land, sister of the late queen of royal birth on her mother's side, of high ministerial rank on her father's."

5. Pl. 27512-15

and taking all of them to the grand city of Nirvana, (I myself want) the fulfilment of my boon for omniscience—Buddhahood.

As mentioned above, only the very ambitious prayed for omniscience. There is an extraordinary case of a man and his wife praying for Buddhahood.¹ A sukrway—wealthy man, whose name is not legible after building eight alms houses and planting some banyan trees (*ficus indica*) made a dedication of one hundred ticals of silver and ten slaves and prayed thus:

nā myā nhañ nā kā phurhā chu ma lway ra luiw state²

May I and my wife without fail get the boon of Buddhahood.

This is very unusual, because no such express wish for both man and wife is mentioned in any other known inscriptions. Owing to the fact that the Buddha is always a male, it was thought proper for ambitious women to pray first for manhood in the coming existences and Buddhahood later. We have mentioned above that Lady Caw, the aunt of Tarukpli prayed for Buddhahood but here is an extract in which the same lady prayed for manhood when she made a dedication in A.D. 1265 at the Kutha pagoda, north of the Dhammayazika, Pagan:

lū nat sattwā tricchan ma krwañ khapañ || sañsarā chuiw ñray mha || thwak mlok kha ruy || chuiw ñray may so niyraban suiw rok ciy luiw so ñhā || ñā le iṃ miyma aphlac mha lwat kha ruy || lū rwā nat rwā kyañ lañ so kha stañ prañña saccā saddhā plañ cum cwa so yok-yā phlac ruy ||³

In order that man, deva and all beings without excepting the animals may be freed from the miseries of rebirth and may attain nirvana where there is no misery and that Talso may be freed from this womanhood and in all my wanderings (i.e. future existences) in the village of men and the village of deva I may be a man who is endowed with piety, wisdom, truth and believe (in the Religion of Buddha)...

The last point in this prayer is important. In her next existence, she wants to be a man believing in the Religion of the Buddha because it is possible that she may be born as an unbelieving man. Only when manhood had been attained would the donor pray for Buddhahood.

In none of the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of the Anekajā⁴ ceremony which is very important nowadays. Modern Burmans when they have completed a pagoda or an image use the Anekajā without which the pagoda is just a pile of bricks and the image is just another statue none of which are considered worshipful. They must be properly consecrated. The ceremony requires the assembly of men and monks in which the monk

1. See JBRS XXVI, ii, p. 132

2. Pl. 213¹³ (A.D. 1260)

3. Pl. 249^{8.9}

4. See Sackhyatōñ U Tiloka: *Bhurā Anekajā Tañ*, (Pāli and Nissaya) Rangoon Kawimayakman Press (1926) and also U Ketu: *Anekajā Tikā* Rangoon Zabumeikshwe Press, (1932). The earliest mention of anekajā was perhaps made in 1480. See the Kalyāṇī inscription, Ep. Bir., III, ii, M⁵², p. 281

recite a formula beginning with *Aneka jāti samisāram* which is supposed to be the very first words uttered by *Gotama Buddha* on attaining enlightenment. The formula is:

*anekajātisamīsāram sandhāvissamī anibbisamī
gahakāram gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunamī
gahakāraka diṭṭhosi puna geham na kāhasi
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭam visāṅkhitam
visāṅkhāragatam cittam taṇhāṇam khayam ajjhagā*

This occurs in the *Dhammapada* (153, 154) and a rough translation of it is:

Through worldly round of many births
I ran my course unceasingly,
Seeking the maker of the house:
Painful is birth again and again.
House-builder! I behold thee now,
Again a house thou shalt not build;
All thy rafters are broken now,
The ridge-pole also is destroyed:
The end of cravings has attained.¹

Perhaps the people of Pagan thought that such a ceremony was not necessary at the end of building pagodas, etc.

The evidence cited above shows that the people of Burma in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. understood the doctrines of Buddha very well. They believed in the chain of rebirths, the miseries of life and they endeavoured for the final attainment of *nirvana*. It seems that the practice of charity was the most popular means of achieving merit. So great was the number of pay of land dedicated to the Religion that King Kalaung was forced to confiscate them all, which ultimately led to the appointment of a royal commission. As Buddhists they tolerated the existence of other religions. It is worthy of note that some considered the Buddha as God or some form of living deity and dedicated slaves of all professions and articles of everyday use so that the Buddha may enjoy them. The average Burman would say that he takes refuge in the Three Gems—Purhā—the Lord, Tryā—the Law, and Sanhā—the Order; but Purhā to him was the most important of all.

1. E.J. Thomas: *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, p. 75

TRYĀ

Tryā in its broadest sense means the law and it is not necessarily the law of the Buddha. It includes all laws—moral, legal or religious and thus it embraces also the customary observances or prescribed conduct for everybody either ecclesiastical or lay as the Sanskrit *dharma* implies. In the inscriptions of our period the word *tryā* means firstly the Buddhist scriptural texts¹ synonymous with the *Tiṭṭaka*, secondly the preachings² whereby the monk tries to explain some part of the teachings of *Gotama* to his congregation, thirdly a law suit³, fourthly the judges⁴ themselves and lastly to describe a natural phenomenon such as death, *atañ may so tryā*⁵—the law of impermanence. Thus the medieval Burman used the word *tryā* in connection with all applications of law or discipline ranging from *khaiv tryā*⁶ a petty theft case—to *aklwat tryā*⁷—the attainment of *nirvana*. But the origin of this useful and comprehensive term is still an open question.

The derivation of the word *tryā* presents a real problem and no satisfactory solution has as yet been reached. Professor G.H. Luce suggests that it is probably the spoonerised Sanskrit *ritā* which means law. When Buddhism was first introduced among the Burmans, their language was still in its infancy and therefore they undoubtedly were confronted with the problem of being unable to find suitable words to translate some Indian philosophical terms and thus adopted many of such terms in their entire form. If this is so they should have adopted the more familiar *dharma* rather than *ritā*. The word *dharma*⁸ was used by King *Thiluin Mañ* (1084–1113) in his Mon inscriptions. But from the reign of King *Cañsū II* (AD. 1174–1211) when Burmese became the language for inscriptions the combination *pūrhā tryā sañghā*⁹ was used for *buddha dhamma sangha* meaning the Lord, the Law, and the Order, and thus *tryā* becomes the Burmese term for *dhamma* with only one exception where

1. Pl. 27¹⁰, Pl. 50¹, Pl. 73¹⁰, Pl. 102²⁷, Pl. 194¹⁴, Pl. 234⁴, Pl. 249²¹, Pl. 251⁴, etc

2. Pl. 175^{5,9}, Pl. 224^{5,7}, Pl. 27¹⁵, (Pl. 53¹⁰), Pl. 67¹¹, Pl. 202²⁵, Pl. 233¹⁵, Pl. 262³⁰, Pl. 308²⁵, Pl. 370¹⁰, Pl. 390^{16,16,17}, Pl. 391¹, Pl. 428²², and Pl. 581¹⁰

3. Pl. 74¹⁵, Pl. 79b²⁷, Pl. 117a^{2,4,6,9,15}, Pl. 120b¹⁷, Pl. 141a^{11,16}, Pl. 174^{15,16}, Pl. 272²⁶, Pl. 381²⁸

4. Pl. 141a⁵, Pl. 191b¹⁰, Pl. 307a¹, Pl. 381^{27,28,31,37}, Pl. 394⁵, Pl. 560^{7,10}

5. Pl. 82b¹⁰, Pl. 182b¹⁰, Pl. 235⁵⁵. Other phrases used in connection with death are *ngt rwd lā*—gone to the village of *deva* (Pl. 147a⁵, Pl. 428¹⁵) and *pyam taw mū*—the royal return—as if the *deva* was one's real abode and the life in this world of men was only a short visit (Pl. 158¹⁰, Pl. 203²) and so by death a man returns to his old place. The phrase *masā* which nowadays means a corpse was in those days only signified serious illness—*masā so* (Pl. 201a¹⁴, Pl. 272²¹, Pl. 274¹⁰)

1. Pl. 141a^{14,14}

2. (Pl. 202²⁵), Pl. 216¹⁵, Pl. 235²¹, Pl. 247²⁶

3. Old Mon: I D^{21,25} (*saddhamma*)⁵⁵; I E^{9,16} (*saddhamma*)^{25,30}; I F²⁸, I G^{20,30}, I H⁴, III C^{16,21}, VIII A²⁴

4. Pl. 135^{11,15}, Pl. 255⁵¹, Pl. 422⁵, Pl. 44a⁴, Pl. 692¹⁰, Pl. 802¹, Pl. 835¹, Pl. 893⁵, Pl. 901⁴, Pl. 102⁰, Pl. 103⁵, Pl. 127a⁵, Pl. 131a², Pl. 132a⁴, Pl. 133¹, Pl. 143a^{0,22}, Pl. 144², Pl. 147a⁵, Pl. 147b²⁰, Pl. 148a⁶, Pl. 148b⁴, Pl. 152⁷, Pl. 175²⁵, Pl. 186², Pl. 190a¹², Pl. 192⁹, Pl. 196²⁰, Pl. 200¹⁰, Pl. 205^{5,21,22,24}, Pl. 208², Pl. 220^{1,9}, Pl. 229¹¹, Pl. 232^{5,6}, Pl. 233⁶, Pl. 234^{11,44}, Pl. 235^{5,44}, Pl. 239², Pl. 245b⁴, Pl. 247^{2,12}, Pl. 249^{1,25}, Pl. 250¹², Pl. 254a⁵, Pl. 256²⁵, Pl. 257², Pl. 266a¹⁴, Pl. 289², Pl. 308^{0,12}

dhammasattha—the Code of Law, is retained in its original form *dhammasāt*¹ up to this day. Very often this *tryā* has been suffixed or prefixed to *man*—the King—to form either *mantryā*² or *tryāman*³ and this combination suggests that this *tryā* is the Sanskrit *trā* which means a protector or defender. Then the *mantryā* or *tryāman*⁴ would be translated as the King-Protector. Unfortunately these terms also happen to be the translation of *dhammarāja*⁵—the just king—which appears frequently in the panegyric of King Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja (*Thuluin Man*) in the early Mon inscriptions. The derivation of *Tryā* is thus still a mystery:

Tryā in a religious sense is the *Tipiṭaka* and to denote a compilation it is used together with the word *apum*⁶—the heap. The whole phrase would be *piṭaka sum pum so tryā apum le plu e*,⁷—"three heaps of *piṭaka* (i.e.) the heap of law are also made" whereby the donor means that he has caused the whole set of the *piṭaka* to be copied and kept at the Library in the monastery which he had just built. In A.D. 1223 minister *Anantasūra*⁸ made a great monastic establishment at a place called *Āmanā*⁹ and took special care to provide it with a set of *piṭaka*. In A.D. 1250 Princess Saw, also known as *Ari Caw* (aunt of King *Tarukpli*) who built a big monastery at *Sacmati*¹⁰ also provided it with a set of *piṭaka*,¹¹ as the

1. Pl. 17414 (A.D. 1228)

2. Pl. 141a¹⁰, Pl. 597c⁵

3. Pl. 96⁵, Pl. 2732¹, Pl. 299⁶, Pl. 303^{5, 8, 9, 10}, Pl. 390⁶, Pl. 413⁷

4. Incidentally, because of this combination of *mantryā* or *tryāman* certain scholars have been led to think that a king in Burma is considered as the best Buddhist on the assumption that the law in connection with the king's name was the Buddhist law (See Kyaw Thein: *Burma's Relation with her Eastern Neighbours*, 1752-1819 Ph. D. Thesis, 1949, ff. 3-5) The fact that all Burmese kings considered themselves as *Bodhisattva* supports this idea—the position of a man is attributed to his deeds in past existences, a Burman Buddhist would consider the king as a man who had acquired a considerable amount of merit in his anterior lives but he would not rate him as the best Buddhist. The Buddhist par excellence would be *Gotama Buddha* himself, who renounced the world and became an ascetic. To the average Burman the *Charāṭan*—the head priest of a monastic establishment, would definitely be a better Buddhist than the king who lives with many queens and concubines. To quote a popular story, once King Mindon sent one of his junior *amat* to go and find out what the *Bhadda Sayadaw* was doing at his forest retreat in a valley of the Sagaing Hills. The indiscreet officer approached the Sayadaw directly and told him the nature of his visit. The Sayadaw who was famous for his caustic tongue, replied: "Your king must take me as a rebel or perhaps he wants to instruct me in the way of the ascetics. Tell him that a man who lives between the hills does not need instructions from a man who lives between the thighs (of women)." To the great displeasure of the king the officer went back and reported the reply verbatim. For this amusing story see Hsaya Thein: *Upamāsamāhāgīrakkhama Kāma*, II, pp. 277-8.

5. Old Mon. I G⁵ 4, 22, III A⁴ 11, 17, 24, III B⁵ 2⁵, III C² 8, 11, 22, 25, 27, III D⁴ 16, V⁵⁰, VI⁴ 25, 32, VIII B¹⁵ 25, 24, IX F²²

6. Pl. 731⁸, Pl. 116⁵, Pl. 164⁵, Pl. 19414, Pl. 2054^{10, 11, 12}, Pl. 220⁸, Pl. 225a⁵, Pl. 234⁸, Pl. 248², Pl. 24921, Pl. 2752⁶, Pl. 289⁵, Pl. 39011, Pl. 39322, Old Mon. III C¹⁵, VII/A⁵

7. Pl. 731⁸, Pl. 19414, Pl. 24921

8. Pl. 73

9. Minnanthu, east of Pagan

10. Pwazaw, south-east of Pagan

11. Pl. 194 (A.D. 1271)

minister mentioned above had done before her. In A.D. 1265 she gave another set probably to the same establishment.¹ Nevertheless we should not have the impression that the monastery was the only place where religious works were kept in those days. The kings had them in their palaces too. In A.D. 1102, King *Thiluin Man* completed building his new palace in which there was a separate apartment where the statues of the Buddha and Gavanipati together with a set of *Tipiṭaka* were kept.² The king, according to the *Prome Shwesandaw Pagoda inscription*,³ gave an order to make a careful copy of the *Tipiṭaka*. In the *Myagan inscription* a similar statement is made:

He shall purify and make straight, write down and establish all the Holy Scriptures.⁴

This may have lead Dr. C.O. Blagden to remark,

That is to say, he is to issue a revised edition of the *Buddhist Canon*.⁵

As this statement occurs in a panegyric of the king, in all probability, it only meant the making of a careful copy of the *Tipiṭaka* by order of the king for his palace. A minister called *Caturāṅgapaccaya*⁶ is mentioned as a person well versed in the *Tipiṭaka* and therefore it may be expected that such persons would have their own private sets.

The cost of a set of *piṭaka* was extremely high. In A.D. 1248 Princess *Acawkrwam*⁷ mentions that the price she paid for her set of *piṭaka* was 2027 ticals of silver. In A.D. 1273 another donor *Samṃyaṅ Lak Choṇ*⁸ built a monastery with a library at an expense of 2300 ticals of silver to which he gave a set of *piṭaka* valued at 3000 ticals of silver. At a time when a tical of silver could buy one *pay* of land⁹ (1.75 acres) with that amount one could buy an estate of 2000 acres. This gives us a rough idea of the cost of a set of *piṭaka*.

The *Tipiṭaka* is divided into 84,000 *dhammakhandha* or sections according to subjects and a medieval Burman knew that a complete set must contain all these sections. In A.D. 1267 a daughter of King *Klacwā*, said:

// *purhā heau tha so nikay 5 pā dhammakhan yyac soṇ le thoñ thā am̐ so ñhā rhuy.....pitakaṭ sum̐ pum̐ le plu e' //9*

In order to keep the the teachings of the Lord—5 *nikāya*, 84,000 *dhammakhandha*, (I made) a golden (? case).

1. Pl. 249
2. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 37-8; (IX.A⁵1-2)
3. *Ibid.*, I, ii, VIII, A⁵
4. *Ibid.*, I, ii, III C¹⁵⁻¹⁶
5. *Ibid.*, I, ii, p. 141, n. 11
6. Pl. 289⁵
7. Pl. 164⁵⁷
8. Pl. 243¹⁴
9. Pl. 1622^{6,52} See Appendix I
10. Pl. 220⁷

In A.D. 1245 Queen Saw, the grandmother of Tarukpiy built a brick monastery which was perhaps a separate library building in a monastic establishment. It was record as:

// purhā haw so nikāy nā pā yhat soñ liy thoñ tryā piṭakat sum pum thā am so nñā Kūlā klōñ le plu e, // thuiw klōñ twañ rhuy talā nñā pitakat le thā e, //¹

In order to keep the teachings of the Lord—5 nikāya, 84,000 tryā of the three heaps of piṭaka, (I) built a brick monastery. In that monastery the (said) piṭaka is kept in a golden case.

In A.D. 1274 a minister of Tarukpiy built a monastery at Āmanā with a separate library built of bricks where the 84,000 dhammakhandha were kept in a golden cabinet². But not all piṭaka dāyaka³—donors of piṭaka—were able to give away complete sets.

Some donors, who could not afford the whole set, gave just what was needed at the particular library to which they wanted to contribute or copies which they thought would be of the greatest use. An inscription of A.D. 1223, mentions the list of works given to a library.⁴ They were:

1. Vinaya—five volumes⁵
2. Dīghanikāya—nine volumes, text and commentaries⁶
3. Netti (pakaraṇa)—five volumes⁷
4. Majjhimanikāya—nine volumes⁸
5. Anguttaranikāya—ten volumes⁹
6. Vissuddhimagga—two volumes¹⁰
7. Khuddakanikāya—nine volumes text and commentaries¹¹

1. Pl. 234⁰

2. Pl. 247¹⁰

3. Pl. 264⁴, Pl. 464¹

4. Unfortunately this inscription (List. 187, B II 171) is only a copy made in King Bodawpaya's reign but in the absense of the original one, we are inclined to accept it as the best material and therefore it is included here.

5. The five are Pārājika, Pācittiya, Mahāvagga, Cūlayagga and Parivāra.

6. It forms the first book of the Suttantapiṭaka and consists of thirty-four long sutta, divided into three vagga—the Sīlakkhandha, the Mahāvagga and the Pāiheya or Pāṭikavagga. DPPN, I, p. 1082

7. An exegetical work on the piṭaka ascribed to Kaccāna. DPPN, II, p. 85. There are fifteen texts in the Khuddhakanikāya of the Suttantapiṭaka but in Burma four additions are made, viz., the Milindapañha, the Suttasāṅgāha, the Peṭakapadesa and the Netti or Nettipakarana. See M.H. Bode: "The Pali Literature of Burma", p. 5, n. 2.

8. It is the second book of the Suttantapiṭaka containing discourses of medium length. It consists of eighty bhāṇavāra and is divided into three sections of fifty sutta each (pañṇāsa), the last pañṇāsa containing fifty two sutta. DPPN, II, p. 418

9. It is the fourth book of the Suttantapiṭaka, consisting of eleven nipāta (sections) and 9,557 sutta. DPPN, I, p. 21

10. "Path of Purity" by Buddhaghosa—an encyclopaedia of Buddha's teachings. DPPN, II, p. 906

11. The fifth and last of the Suttantapiṭaka and it contains all the most important collections of Pali poetry. See above (note 7).

8. *Milindapaṇhā*¹
9. *Anāgatavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā*²
10. *Mahāvāraṇṇāsā Tikā*³
11. *Thūpavaṃsa*⁴
12. *Bodhivaṃsa*—text and commentaries⁵
13. *Mahāvāṃsa*⁶
14. *Tathagatupatti*⁷
15. *Kaccāyana*⁸
16. *Nyāsa Tikā*⁹
17. *Mahāthera Tikā*¹⁰
18. *Cūlasandhivisodhana*¹¹
19. *Sandhivisodhana Tikā*
20. *Mahājanaka (Jātaka)*¹²
21. (Major) *Jātaka*—seven volumes
22. *Abhidhammā*—seven volumes¹³

This donor therefore gave an almost complete set of *Piṭaka* as all *Vāṅsa* and *Abhidhamma* and some *Sutta* works together with such popular Sinhalese works as *Mahāvāṃsa*, *Thūpavaṃsa* and *Anāgatavaṃsa* were included in his list.

1. The conversations between King *Milinda* of *Sāgala* (the Bactrian king Menander) and the Buddhist Elder *Nāgasena*. *DPPN*, II, pp. 636-7
2. A poem on the story of *Metteyya*, the future Buddha by an elder called *Kasaṇa*, an inhabitant of the *Coja* country. *DPPN*, I, p. 66
3. Grammatical commentary or gloss. In the list of 295 works given by the Governor of Taungdwin to a library in A.D. 1442 (*List* 934, *PPA*, 83-6, *TN*, 39-47, *M.H. Bode: Op.cit.*, 101-9) it is No. 227, *Mañjūsāttkāyākhyam*
4. A Pali poem written by *Vācissara*. It has sixteen chapters, the last eight of which contain a description of the *Mahā Thūpa* by *Duttagāmaṇi* at *Anurādhapura*. The work probably belongs to the 12th century. *DPPN*, I, p. 1042
5. The history of the arrival of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon, written in about the 10th century probably by *Upatissa*. *DPPN*, II, p. 537
6. *The Great Chronicle of Ceylon* up to the time of King *Mahāsena*, attributed to Mahānāma Thera.
7. Perhaps written by the *thera Nāgagambhīra* of Pagan. *M.H. Bode: Op.cit.*, p. 16
8. Probably this is the same as *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*, a grammatical treatise explaining the *sūtra* (aphorisms) of the *Kaccāyana*, *Ibid.*, p. 17
9. Another grammatical work also known as *Mukhamattudipani*, probably written by *Mahā Vimalabuddhi* of Pagan. *Ibid.*, p. 21
10. It appears also in the inscription (*List*, 934) mentioned above (note 3) as No. 140
11. No. 159 of the above inscription
12. *Jātaka* No. 539
13. The seven being *Dhammasaṅgani*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathūvatthu*, *Puggalapaññati*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*

Some donors only gave *Vinaya* texts to monastic establishments probably due to the growing demand for them as a result of the increasing number of monks or to the growing laxity in the observance of the *Vinaya* among the monks in general. In A.D. 1220 *Suvannapaccaya* recorded his contributions towards the library at the monastery of *Skhiṇ Athapatiy*.

// piytakata ū Silakhamdhawāsi tac klam // Abhidhammasaṅgini tac klam Tassa
Jat tac klam // Dhammapada tac klam Wineṇ tac pum le plu kha plu e //¹

I have also made one volume of *Silakkhandha*—the first book of the *piṭaka*, one volume of *Dhammasaṅgani*, one volume of the Ten *Jātaka*, one volume of the *Dhammapada* and one heap of the *Vinaya*.

Out of the three *piṭaka*, the donor began with the very first book, i.e. the *Silakkhandha* of the *Dighanikāya* in the *Suttantapiṭaka*.² Then he added two more popular books of the *Suttantapiṭaka*, viz. the *Dhammapada* and the *Jātaka* of the *Khuddakanikāya*. Of the *Jātaka*, he selected the most popular ten stories which formed the last anterior lives of the Buddha.³ As for the *Vinayapiṭaka* he decided to give the whole set of five as the phrase *Wineṇ tac pum*—one heap of *Vinaya* implies. Lastly he gave the first book of the seven of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, i.e. the *Dhammasaṅgani*.

Some donors, considered the *Abhidhamma* works to be the most important. In A.D. 1273 a donor named *Nā Lat* gave only a book of the *Jātaka* but all the seven of the *Abhidhamma*.⁴ We may also include here some donors who gave only a volume of the *piṭaka*⁵ or gave as much as twenty-six volumes but would not bother to name them.⁶ So far we have discussed *tryā* in terms of *piṭaka* and we come to the conclusion that the monasteries of our period must have had libraries with a fairly complete set of *piṭaka* and that the monks were able to find donors who would supply them with the more popular or important texts of the religious books so that their libraries would remain always complete with even some extra numbers of those texts in general use. This leads to the question as to who were the people who used these libraries.

We have shown already that people who could afford the exorbitant price of a set of *piṭaka* might have their own libraries, but most of the libraries were attached to the monasteries and therefore the monks formed the majority of people who used them. Even among the monks, there was a special group who devoted their time to *pariyatti*⁷

1. Pl. 372⁴² (Note the peculiar spelling *Piytakata*)

2. Unlike the western scholars who begin with the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Childers: *Dic. of P. Lang.* p. 507) Burmans count the three *piṭaka* as *Sut Wineṇ*: *Abhidhammā* i.e. *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* and therefore the first book the *Suttantapiṭaka* becomes the very first book of the *piṭaka*.

3. In Burma, the ten *Jātaka* always mean the last ten stories of the 547.

4. Pl. 242²⁷

5. Pl. 303² (*nidān ja le tac klām*—one volume of *Nidānajāṭaka*) and also Pl. 208¹⁸ where the donor gave only one volume of the *jātaka*. In Pl. 161b⁵ a rich lady *Uṇ Nūn Saṇ* gave only the first three books of the *piṭaka*.

6. Pl. 308²⁴

7. Pl. 275.²⁶ Old Mon. I, G 16-17

—learning—and were called *cāsañ*¹ – students – and some monasteries which were devoted to learning were called *cāsañ tuik*² or *cāsañ klon*³ – educational institutes. Such institutes also provided free board and lodging⁴ to the students and some institutes had as few as two students⁵, while some had as many as twenty big buildings within a compound serving as hostels for them.⁶ These students used *piy*⁷ – (*corypha elata*) umbrella palm leaves or *thanwak*⁸ – (*borassus flabellifer*) palmyra palm leaves and *stylus* for their writing material with a view to longevity. In this case they bound their finished *piy* with *klaw*⁹ – wooden boards – usually of *Lakpam*¹⁰ – *bombax malabaricum* and stored them up in *sal*¹¹ – cases – made of wood or in *cātuik*¹² – cabinets – which were sometimes so profusely decorated that one would cost as much as 215 ticals of silver. Sometimes they used *parabui*¹³ – a single long sheet of paper folded backwards and forwards to form a book – to be written with *kamkuchān*¹³ – (steatite) soapstone pencil – kept in *kamkūtamkleñ*¹³ – cylindrical case specially made for those pencils. For daily use, they had *mliyphlu*¹⁴ – chalk, and *saiphun*¹⁴ – blackboard.

After building the library, the donor's next concern was to provide it with attendants and necessary funds so that repairs to the building, preservation¹⁵ of the manuscripts and new acquisitions to the library would be possible. Such works of merit were known as *tryā war*¹⁶ – duties towards the Law. To fulfil these purposes the donor dedicated lands,¹⁷ slaves¹⁸ (sometimes including scribes)¹⁹, elephants²⁰, palmyra-palms²¹ and sesamum²² (to extract oil for lighting) to the Law. The duties towards the Law included also the offering of daily food in the same way as to the Lord and the Order. For example, in A.D. 1278 the

1. Pl. 8525, Pl. 143a²⁶, Pl. 14426, Pl. 195b⁸, Pl. 206,¹ Pl. 365a⁴
2. Pl. 13825, Pl. 2055, Pl. 27157
3. Pl. 105a¹², Pl. 1526, Pl. 29015
4. Pl. 8525, Pl. 13825, Pl. 195b⁸, Pl. 20320
5. Pl. 195b⁸
6. Pl. 1526
7. Pl. 23556, Pl. 29625
8. Pl. 4176
9. Pl. Pl. 20819, Pl. 23556, Pl. 24227, Pl. 3032, Pl. 37242, Pl. 4176
10. Pl. 4166
11. Pl. 2346, Pl. 23556, Pl. 24710
12. Pl. 16441, Pl. 2054
13. Pl. 310b50-2
14. Pl. 310b27-9
15. Pl. 4222, Pl. 365a5
16. Pl. 4226, Pl. 2025, Pl. 276b7, Pl. 29318, Pl. 365a4, Pl. 38026
17. Pl. 2355, Pl. 4222,26, Pl. 501, Pl. 8524, Pl. 16215, Pl. 182b15,26, Pl. 19410, Pl. 20510,11,12, Pl. 222a5,8,18,20, Pl. 24218,20, Pl. 2485, Pl. 26526, Pl. 28511, Pl. 313a6, Pl. 365a2,5, Pl. 371b9, Pl. 3946, Pl. 396b4, Pl. 571b7
18. Pl. 4226, Pl. 122a6,15, Pl. 15226, Pl. 182b1,15, Pl. 190a6, Pl. 19419, Pl. 20817, Pl. 22918, Pl. 2485,5, Pl. 2514, Pl. 26215
19. Pl. 4226
20. Pl. 18215
21. Pl. 2025
22. Pl. 39322

minister *Caturāṅgapaccaya* said:

// *apōṇ lay 3230 kywān 160* // *īy lay khwān ra so capā twān kā ta niy so purhā*
chan ta carwat khyak saṇput // *pitakat ta niy so to praṇ khyak saṇput* // *kloṇ*
thera cā so ta la capā 30 // *aryā 20 ta niy chan ta praṇ twak a praṇ 20* //

The total of 3230 (*pay*) of land and 160 slaves (are dedicated). Out of the paddy received as rent from these lands, $\frac{1}{2}$ basket of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Lord, 1 *praṇ* ($\frac{1}{2}$ of the basket) of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Law, 30 (baskets) of paddy are (to be set apart) every month for the chief monk of the monastery to eat and 20 *praṇ* of rice at 1 *praṇ* for each monk are (to be cooked) daily for 20 monks.

Another donor after dedicating 8073 *pay* of land said:

// *i lay nhuik ra ap so capā twān kā ceti saṇput ta niy chan 1 praṇ piṭakat ta*
niy chan 3 tum purhā ryap saṇput ta niy chan 1 tum purhā tanthim saṇput ta niy
chan 1 tum nā smi plu so kū 4 myaknhā so saṇput ta niy chan 4 tum tañ ciy
sate?

From the (yearly) produce of paddy from these lands, 1 *praṇ* of rice (is to be cooked) daily as almsfood for the *cetiya*, 3 *tum* of rice daily for the *piṭaka*, 1 *tum* of rice daily as almsfood for the standing Buddha, 1 *tum* of rice daily as almsfood for the recumbent Buddha, 4 *tum* of rice daily as almsfood for the four sided hollow pagoda built by my daughter are to be offered.

Thus apart from this rite of offering daily food to the Law, the medieval libraries of Burma had adequate staffs and funds as its modern counterparts. But the nature of the collection was mainly religious, and a complete set of the *tipiṭaka* together with commentaries would be available there and perhaps even spare copies of some popular texts. Naturally, the majority of the readers were young monks whose ambition was to learn by heart the whole of the "three heaps of the *tryā*" with some of the *ṭikā* and *aṭṭhakathā* of the texts.

Besides meaning *tipiṭaka*, *tryā* also means the preachings of the monks who try to explain some part of the teachings of Gotama to his congregation. To give such a sermon is known as *tryā*³ and to listen to it would be termed *tryā nā*⁴ and a sort of donation called *tryā chu*⁵ is given to the preacher by way of recompense for his pains. It is interesting to note here that the donations vary from areca-nuts⁶ and loin-cloths⁷ to paddy⁸ and paddyfields⁹. Usually there was a weekly sermon on every *saṭaṇ*¹⁰—sabbath day—during the *wā*¹¹—lent. In some monasteries preaching was heard twice every sabbath, i.e. once in the

1. Pl. 289¹⁷

2. Pl. 393²⁰

3. Pl. 27¹²

4. Pl. 175^{5,8}, Pl. 224^{5,7}, Pl. 27¹⁵, (Pl. 53¹⁸), Pl. 67¹¹, Pl. 370^{16,16,17}, Pl. 392¹

5. Pl. 362⁵, Pl. 422¹⁻², Pl. 1382⁷, Pl. 2752², Pl. 289¹⁸, Pl. 393²⁵, Pl. 396a²⁷

6. Pl. 322⁵

7. Pl. 2752², Pl. 393²⁵

8. Pl. 1382⁷, Pl. 289¹⁸

9. Pl. 422¹⁻², Pl. 396a²⁷

10. & 11. Pl. 362⁵, Pl. 1382⁷, Pl. 2752², Pl. 289¹⁸

morning and again at night.¹ Big monastic establishments generally had a separate building called the *dharmasā*² or *tryā im*³—or *tryā kloṇ*⁴—hall of the Law—where most of the preaching was done. In such a hall, a special seat called *tryā panlaṇ*⁵—sometimes gilded, with a golden umbrella and canopy⁶ above—was made for the preacher. From this seat, the preacher would address the congregation on such subjects as *Dhammacakkā*⁷—the wheel of law, *Paṭiccasamuppāda*⁸—the working of cause and effect, *Rathavinīta Sutta*⁹—the seven acts of purity and *Satipatthāna Sutta*¹⁰—the four methods of meditation. The listeners thus became well acquainted with the methods of obtaining the *paṭisambhida*¹¹—analytical knowledge, and the four *saccā*¹²—truths—that would ultimately result in their becoming *araha*¹³ when *Maitreya*¹⁴ becomes Buddha or in other words in attaining *oklwa tryā*¹⁵—the knowledge that would help one to achieve *nirvana*. In present day Burma, stories from the *Jātaka* are usually quoted by the preacher as illustration and these tales which are quite interesting, attract a considerable portion of the audience to the *dharmasā*. It is not unlikely that some old Burmans were also attracted to the *dharmasā* in the same way. The *Jātaka* are full of moral lessons and scenes from them were painted on the walls of some buildings¹⁶ with a dual purpose, viz. to decorate the hall and to convey some information on Buddhism in pictures. There are two interesting names in connection with these teachings. They are *Mālān* and *Pisamantra* and in an inscription of A.D. 1201 they appear as:

// Sakarac 563 // Mruikkasor nhac // Saṅkri Nōn Up phun mū so Tankho la chan
14 rek Tannhāṅkunuy niy Mālān nā e, // laprañ Tannhāṅlā niy, kā Pisamantra
nā e, // la chut 1 rek Aṅkā niy kā Dhammacakkra nā e, //¹⁷

In A.D. 1201 *Saṅkri Nōn Up* did the following meritorious deeds. On Sunday 19 March¹⁸ *Mālān* (story) was heard; on Monday 20 March the *Pisamantra* (story); and on Tuesday 21 March the *Dhammacakkra*.

1. Pl. 275²²
2. Pl. 75¹⁸, Pl. 102⁸, Pl. 105a⁸, Pl. 152⁵, Pl. 185⁴, Pl. 234¹⁰, Pl. 303³, Pl. 366¹⁸, Pl. 575⁶, Pl. 602a²
3. Pl. 152⁵, Pl. 164⁷
4. Pl. 68⁵
5. Pl. 105a⁸, Pl. 205⁴, Pl. 371a¹³
6. Pl. 73¹⁸
7. Belongs to the *Samyuttanikāya* of the *Suttantapiṭaka* and supposed to be the first preaching of all the Buddhas. Pl. 6⁸, Pl. 22⁷, Pl. 202²⁵, Pl. 209¹⁵, Pl. 249¹⁴
8. Pl. 6⁷
9. Twentyfourth *sutta* of the *Mijjhimanikāya*. Pl. 396b¹
10. Tenth *sutta* of the *Mijjhimanikāya*. Pl. 53¹⁸
11. Pl. 197¹²
12. Pl. 390³, Pl. 413³
13. *Arahattaphuṇi* (*Arahattaphaṇṇa*) Pl. 235²¹, Pl. 247²⁶, *Rahantā* (*Araha*) Pl. 10b³¹, Pl. 23¹¹, Pl. 194b⁴⁹, Pl. 144⁵⁴, Pl. 149¹⁸, Pl. 197¹³, Pl. 206⁶, Pl. 209¹⁵, Pl. 233¹⁰, Pl. 239²⁸, Pl. 240¹², Pl. 246¹³, Pl. 249¹³, Pl. 253b¹⁰, Pl. 263¹¹, Pl. 299¹⁸, Pl. 422b¹², Pl. 579¹⁸
14. Pl. 25², Pl. 8a⁵, Pl. 10b⁵⁰, Pl. 14⁸, Pl. 23¹¹, Pl. 44b¹⁸, Pl. 94b⁵⁰, Pl. 122a¹³, Pl. 152⁵⁵, Pl. 164³, Pl. 182a²⁸, Pl. 197¹¹, Pl. 202²⁴, Pl. 206⁶, Pl. 216¹⁴, Pl. 233¹⁵, Pl. 249^{15, 25}, Pl. 275^{11, 13}, Pl. 283²³, Pl. 293⁴, Pl. 299¹⁸, Pl. 331b¹², Pl. 334a¹³, Pl. 364⁵⁹, Pl. 366¹¹, Pl. 384⁸, Pl. 558a⁷, Pl. 572a¹⁵
15. (Pl. 202²⁵), Pl. 216¹⁵, Pl. 235²¹, Pl. 247²⁶
16. Pl. 105a⁸, Pl. 248¹⁸
17. Pl. 22¹⁻⁷ Pl. 308²⁵ has *Pisamantara*
18. According to A. Irwin: "Elements of Burmese Calendar", *IA*, Nov. 1910, p. 303, 19 March 1201 is Monday.

Mālañ according to Professor Pe Maung Tin is.

Māleyya, now known as Shin Māle, a Sinhalese thera whose conversation with the coming Buddha Metteyya is told in the Rasavāhinī², a non-canonical Pali work of Ceylon. Metteyya tells Māleyya among other things that if any one wishes to meet him when he becomes the Buddha, "he must make offerings to the present Buddha of a thousand rice-alms, a thousand sweet and sour fruits, a thousand oil-lights, water flowers, land flowers, banners, a thousand umbrellas, together with betel to chew and pickled tea-leaves appropriately conveyed in hlawga boats and listen to the law of Vessantara."³

Pisamantra or Pisamantarā is perhaps Vessantara (Jataka No. 547) because a later Burmese legend quoted above made an allusion to Vessantara in connection with Malaya-Mahādeva Thera. Although the inscription of A.D. 1201 quoted above⁴ mentions that the story-telling of Mālañ and Pisamantra falls around the full moon day of Tankū: (19-21 March 1201), another reference⁵ connects the listening of Pisamantarā with the kaṭhina⁶ ceremony. In present day Burma kaṭhina is generally held on any day between the first day of the waning moon in Sitan:kywat to the full moon day of Tanchonmun: (October-November). But most popularly it is held on the last day, i.e. the full moon day of Tanchonmun: and perhaps not incidentally Shyan Mālai Pwai: also falls on that day too.⁷

As part of tryā we should also deal with paritta. The old Burman used parit-kri: (Mahāparittam) which is a small collection of texts gathered from the Suttantapiṭaka to ward off "various evils physical and moral"⁸, as the modern Burmans do to-day. In A.D. 1102 the Mahāthera Arahan and 4108 bhikkhu recited paritta in and around the new palace built by

1. Malaya-Mahādeva Thera. DPPN, II, pp. 450-2

2. A collection of 103 stories in Sinhalese by Ratthapāla, revised and translated into Pali in about the early part of the 14th century by Vedēha (DPPN, II, p. 718) and then translated (date unknown) into Burmese by Vajirapabbhāsā. The Burmese version appears under the name Madhurasavāhinī Vatthu (Rangoon, Hamsawati Press, 1927) and the story of Māliya Thera appears in pp. 503-52 and his dialogue with Metteyya is given in pp. 550-1. Mahāvamsa (tr. by W. Geiger, Colombo, Government Publication, 1950) has also references to him (xxvii, 30 and 49, pp. 222-4). Mahāwasi (tr. by Kyi: sai Le: thap Charātoau, Rangoon, Suddhammawati Press, 1953) adds notes about him on pp. 320, 392 and 397.

3. JBRs, XXVI, I, p. 59 (BRSEAP, II, p. 430). The instructions by Maitreya to offer 1000 lights, etc., seems to be a Burmese modification and Professor Pe Maung Tin is quoting here a translation made from a palm-leaf MS (No. 1450 Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, now in the National Library, No. 1329) called Shyan Mālai Warthu. (Two other MSS under the same title at the National Library are Nos. 1330 & 1331.) The story was verified in 1804 by Mon Nui: and part of this Shyan Mālai Prut, appears in Kyau: Thwan: Mrammācā Nwan, pari: Kyam: II, Anthology of Burmese Literature, Rangoon, Government Publication, 1927, pp. 328-9. The National Library, Rangoon, has a copy of the Shyan Mālai Prut, (No. 2038) but unfortunately the MS is not complete. (See also JBRs, X, pp. 130 and 145, U: Ta: Kabyābandasāra Kyam: Rangoon Amyuisā Press, p. 85, No. 128; Muin: Khuin: Mrui: cā: Piṭakat Samui:, Rangoon, Hamsawati Press, 1959, p. 251, No. 1816). The story of 1000 lights on a lhoaukā: is repeated in U: Sin: Porāṇadipani Kyam: II, Rangoon, Mrammawati Press, 1913, pp. 330-43.

4. Pl. 22⁵

5. Pl. 308²⁵

6. Pl. 232, Pl. 992, Pl. 117b7, Pl. 163¹⁷, Pl. 234¹, Pl. 272¹², Pl. 274⁷, Pl. 308²⁵, Pl. 372³⁶

7. U: Sin: Porāṇadipani Kyam: II, p. 343

8. M.H. Bode: Pali Literature of Burma, p. 3

Thiluin Maj.¹ In A.D. 1190 Singhasura, minister of Cañsū II, built a hollow pagoda. When the relics were enshrined in that pagoda, eight monks came and recited the paritta.² Princess Acaw Lat, daughter of King Narasiṅghā Uccanā, on a similar occasion in A.D. 1261 had seven bhikkhu and one bhikkhuni to recite the paritta.³ There are eleven selections in the modern parit kri.⁴ and although nothing is known except the fact that paritta was used, it may safely be assumed that these eleven were also in vogue then.

Tryā⁵ also means civil and criminal law. The law court at the capital was probably known as tryā kwan sāyā⁶ - the Pleasant Hall of Justice. Perhaps every large village and town had law courts called buih tryā.⁷ The court of appeal was known as atam tryā.⁸ One of the criminal courts was the khuw tryā⁹ - the court for petty theft cases. We have quite a number of inscriptions¹⁰ mentioning law suits especially disputes on ownership of land¹¹ and slaves.¹² Sometimes, complaints were made by the clergy against the king for the confiscation of their lands by royal order.¹³ In such cases, a royal commission was specially appointed to deal with it and it is interesting to note that the commission always found the king guilty. The monks occasionally quarrelled among themselves for the ownership of land¹⁴ but usually it was the monk versus the descendants of the donor who claimed that part of the monastic land was their inheritance. In A.D. 1259 Nā Mwan and son took a certain portion of land belonging to the monastery built by Nā Lap Sañ where Gunagambhi had been the chief monk for over three years. Originally the land belonged to Nā Cañ Kray Sañ who gave it to the monastery during the reign of King Nātonmā (1211-? 1231). Now Tarukpliy was king, and thus five kings had passed away; and during all that time the monastery enjoyed the produce of the land. Then suddenly:¹⁵

...kōk si phyak ruy lu ca lat sate hu piy e, || Nā Mwan kā nā phuiw Nā Cañ Kray Sañ, māy, pri kā sañkhā ta yok tañ lhyān ma cā phū hu piy, e, || thuiw rhaw sañphama nhac yok cat lat so tel¹⁶ ...

1. Old Mon IX A¹⁴, 19, 21, 26, 39, 48, 48, C7, D14, G55, 56, 40, 42, 42, 44, 45, 48

2. Pl. 10a7

3. Pl. 200^{12, 14} Another mention of paritta appears in Pl. 266a¹¹ but unfortunately a large portion of the inscription is illegible.

4. The eleven are: 1. Mangalasutta, 2. Ratanasutta, 3. Mettasutta, 4. Khandhasutta, 5. Morasutta, 6. Vattasutta, 7. Dhajaggasutta, 8. Añānāthiyasutta, 9. Angulimālasutta, 10. Bojjhangasutta and 11. Pubbānhasutta

5. See above pp. 42 & 44-6

6. Pl. 547, Pl. 371b⁶

7. Pl. 79b^{10, 27}

8. Pl. 79b^{17, 27, 35}

9. Pl. 141a^{14, 14}

10. Pl. 74, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79b, Pl. 90, Pl. 141a, Pl. 162, Pl. 174, Pl. 191b, Pl. 193, Pl. 231b, Pl. 272, Pl. 273, Pl. 331a, Pl. 371b, Pl. 381, Pl. 395, Pl. 421b, Pl. 560, Pl. 574b

11. Pl. 54, Pl. 90, Pl. 141, etc.

12. Pl. 74, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79b, Pl. 174, Pl. 191b

13. Pl. 90, Pl. 231b, Pl. 296

14. Pl. 54, Pl. 371b

15. Pl. 193, Pl. 381, Pl. 421b, Pl. 560f

16. Pl. 193⁹⁻¹²

...they destroyed the crop and (took possession of the land.) So says (*Gunagambhi*). *Nā Mwan* (replied that) from the time his grandfather *Nā Cañ Kray Sañ* passed away, not even a single monk has been known to enjoy (the produce of this land). Then the two judges began their investigation.

The witnesses were summoned. They probably lived in the same village where the disputing parties also lived. *Nā Rok Ū*, the *lawkā sukri*—coxswain of the royal barge at *Takoñ* and *Paccarā* representing the *rwā sañ krī nāy*—villagers old and young, testified that the land was reputed to be monastery property. *Kaika*, another witness, probably the oldest man in the locality confirmed the above statement. According to him, from the reign of King *Nātoñmyā* until then which was more than twenty five years, only the monks had enjoyed the produce of the land. Not satisfied with a mere statement, he took an oath. We must note here that taking an oath came only after making a statement, and that only the most important witness took one. This is unlike the modern procedure. The judges decided in *Gunagambhi*'s favour. To be successful in a law suit is termed *tryā on e'*¹ and to be defeated is *tryā yhum e'*². In criminal cases, the judges consulted the *amunwan*³ to determine the kind of punishment suited for the crime committed. For civil cases, the guide book was the *dhammasāt*⁴ but we are unable to say what sort of *dhammasattha* was used in those days. We find only one mention of *dhammasāt* in the inscriptions of the period and it is in an inscription dated A.D. 1249. It is probable that the courts used the *dhammasāt* as the Civil Code and the *amunwan* as the Criminal Code. In the course of the trial, the witnesses were asked to hold the relics of the Buddha⁵ or the book of *Abhidhammā piṭaka*⁶ or to take an oath before an image of the Buddha⁷ swearing that they were telling nothing but the truth. After weighing all evidences, the judges pronounced their verdict which was always *cā khyup e*,⁸ — recorded, and *tanchip*¹ — the seal of the court — was affixed to the

1. Pl. 74¹⁰, (Pl. 79⁵), Pl. 117a^{2,4,6,9,15}, Pl. 141^{5,9,12}, Pl. 174¹⁵, (Pl. 331a¹¹, Pl. 574b⁸)

2. Pl. 174¹⁶

3. King *Klēcwa*'s Edict against thieves. Plates 166ab, 167-9, 170, 173-4, 343 and 345ab. See above pp. 24-9

4. Pl. 174¹⁴. *Dhammavilasa Dhammasat* and *Wagaru Dhammasat* are believed to be the oldest works on law in Burma. Tradition attributes them to our period; early 13th century for the former and late 13th century for the later. Originally they were written in Pali and Mon respectively and translated later into Burmese. No originals are now available and therefore we are not in a position to ascertain their claim to antiquity. They codified the customary law and they would be modified and enlarged considerably in the Burmese translation. Probably the translations were made in the 16th century or later. The British Museum has a 1749 copy of the *Dhammavilasa Dhammasat* and Dr. Forchhammer used a 1707 copy of the *Wagaru Dhammasat* for his translation. (E. Forchhammer: *King Wagaru's Manu Dhammasattham* Rangoon, Government Publication, 1892) A fairly recent work on Burmese law maintains that these two are the earliest works in Burmese legal literature though it is impossible to say with certainty that they belong to the 13th century, that both were compiled within a comparatively short interval of each other, and that *Dhammavilasa* is slightly earlier than *Wagaru*. (See Shwe Baw: *Origin and Development of Burmese Legal Literature*, Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London, 1955, f. 86)

5. Pl. 78b⁷, Pl. 191b¹¹, Pl. 381^{17,17,18,19,29}

6. Pl. 78b⁷

7. Pl. 231b⁸

8. Pl. 196⁴, Pl. 272²⁰, Pl. 274¹⁸, Pl. 279²⁵

record. In cases where evidence was not available, the contestants had to undergo a trial by ordeal after having taken a corporal oath. The following extract relates a trial by ordeal (water) for the ownership of land:

(// Mañkalā) picañ tuiw nhañ, // (Yañ Sañ) sã so // | kamuy thañ ...
(tuiñ) sūkri Nā Lak Cway, Sañ mhok // (ryā ra) khrañ kroñ, riy ñup e //
Ma(ñklāpi)cañ (lhyā)ñ òñ liy e // muiw 6 nhac cã prī mha te // Nā Mañ Krī min
lat-tum e // riy ñup sã kã ryā ra khrañ te ñup e hu e // ryā r.1 khrañ kã ma ñup
phu hu plan, ruy // ryā ra khrañ yū lat e hu krā lat e // tanchip pan lup so
sañphama tuiw // acit aciy miy so // Mañkalapicañ hū e // athuiw rhaw riy ñup sã
kã ryā ra khrañ kroñ, ñup so hut-tā // si so kã // tuiñ sūkri Nā Lak Cway Sañ
lhyāñ si e hu min e // Yañ Sañ sã Nā Mañ (Krī) hu e // tuiñ sūkri Nā Lak Cway
(Sañ) ryā ra khrañ ñup sã kã ñā lhyāñ si so te hu amūkwan khat ciy hu min ra kã
// sañphama tuiw, le ...¹

*Mañkalapicañ*² ... and *Yañ Sañ*'s son (contested for the ownership of a piece of land). It was in the presence of *Tuiñ Sūkri* (Land Officer) *Nā Lak Cway Sañ* that they underwent a water ordeal (to decide who should own) the *ryā* (dry-cultivation land). *Mañkalapicañ* won. Six *muiw* (rain) had passed that he ate (the produce) of the land. Then (*Yañ Sañ*'s son) *Nā Mañ Krī* said: "The water ordeal was done to get the *ryā*. But the ordeal was never carried out. (Nevertheless he) took the *ryā*". He informed this to (the officers concerned). *Sañphama* (the judges) who (? fix) the 'Flower Seal' made enquiries. *Mañkalapicañ* said: "It is true that the water ordeal was done to get the *ryā*. *Nā Lak Cway Sañ* the *Tuiñ Sūkri* knew it." (Then) *Nā Mañ Krī*, son of *Yañ Sañ*, replied. *Nā Lak Cway Sañ* said: "I knew that the water ordeal for the possession of land was carried out. Put that on record." The Judges ...

Another inscription dated A.D. 1242 also said that a land dispute was settled by a water ordeal in the presence of three judges, viz., *Narintasū*, *Mahāsman*'s son and *Nā Kruiw Cā*.² *Chan thin* (mahout) one of the contestants won the case, but his rival raised an objection that he won by means of magic (*chiy plu cã ruy*). So the case was sent to the Criminal Court (*Khuiv Tryā*). Unfortunately we do not know the rest of the proceedings as the remaining part of the inscription is now no longer legible. Perhaps such incidents led later judges to investigate whether the contestants and their supporters had secreted charms and magic about them before the trial by ordeal began.³ So far we have discussed *tryā* as a law suit.

Tryā was also used to signify the judges of the court.⁴ But, sometimes it was prefixed or suffixed to some other word to mean a judge. For example, there are the combinations

1. Pl. 598a¹⁻²²

2. Pl. 141a^{9,11}

3. Acinṇa (Editor): *Rājāsippasattha Kyam*: Añ:rwā Mrui, Sac. Prañlum: mhanku Press, 1929, pp. 129-30

4. Pl. 74¹⁰, Pl. 79b^{4,56}, Pl. 193²¹, Pl. 235¹¹, Pl. 598a¹¹

5. Pl. 56b⁹, Pl. 78b^{22,54}, Pl. 79a^{17,20,24,55}, Pl. 79b⁴, Pl. 191b¹⁰, Pl. 381^{27,28,51,57}, Pl. 394⁵, Pl. 560f^{7,10}

tryā samīpyāṇ,¹ *tryā saṅghama*,² and *tryā sūkri*³ where the word *tryā* is prefixed to those words which generally denote 'officer' and thus we have the law officers. We do not know how they differ from one another although it is almost sure that they dealt with law cases. With *tryā* suffixed, we have the names like *khuiw tryā*,⁴ *khuiw tryā cākhi*⁵ and *buih tryā*⁶ meaning the judge of petty theft cases, a clerk attached to the above and junior judge respectively. It is interesting to note that there were some women judges⁷ in those days. Some judges were given such titles as *Manūrājā*⁸ or *Manorāja*,⁹ probably because they were very good judges, as the titles suggest some connection with *Manu*, the law giver. Incidentally we must mention here three other names for judges which do not contain the word *tryā*. They are *amhu cuiw*¹⁰ - the officer in charge of the case, *saṅghama*¹¹ - the judge who administer the law (*tryā chān so*)¹² and *khuiw sūkri*¹³ - the judge of theft cases. This all we know about the word *tryā*.

As we have seen the word *tryā* is capable of many interpretations. It is the *Tipiṭaka*, the preaching at the hall of law, the law suit and the judge. As the *Tipiṭaka*, the old Burmans' knowledge of the *tryā* was by no means slight. Although very costly they had complete sets of *piṭaka* together with commentaries. The monasteries had well stocked libraries with ample staff, funds and fine buildings which also served as educational institutes where the youth was given free religious education. Much learning was by rote. Monastic education was considered a very important qualification for those who aspired to high offices in the civil service. As regards *tryā* in its aspect as religious teaching the monks considered it their duty to instruct their lay devotees in the ways to *nirvana*. They attempted to explain even the more difficult but important parts of Buddhist philosophy in plain words with illustrations from the *jāṭaka*. These discourses given in special buildings known as *dhammasā* were well attended. Sometimes there were two sessions, once in the morning and once in the evening on sabbath days during the lent. After thus receiving the method, it was the duty of the listener to practise and attain *nirvana*. *Tryā* in its legal aspects meant the law courts with *dhammasāt* and *amunwan* as civil and criminal codes respectively. Kings noted for their justice would acquire the popular name of *tryā mañ* - the just king. Lastly, *tryā* meant judges themselves who were undaunted even at the idea of dealing out justice to the king himself if need be.

1. Pl. 78b³, Pl. 144a²
2. Pl. 149¹⁴
3. Pl. 544, Pl. 191b⁶, Pl. 371b⁶
4. Pl. 141a^{14, 14}
5. Pl. 269¹
6. Pl. 79b^{10, 27}
7. Pl. 174¹¹
8. Pl. 44b¹⁵, Pl. 2734⁶, Pl. 331b⁷
9. Pl. 231b⁶
10. Pl. 421b¹⁷
11. Pl. 74¹⁵, Pl. 79b²⁷, Pl. 120b¹⁷, Pl. 141a¹⁶, Pl. 272²⁶
12. Pl. 74¹⁵, Pl. 78b²², Pl. 79b^{20, 22, 27}, Pl. 161b⁵, Pl. 174^{5, 4, 6, 11}, Pl. 194¹⁴
13. Pl. 241⁵

SAṄGHĀ

SAṄGHĀ is the Pali loan word for the Order. It is interesting to note that in ratanā sumi pā¹—the phrase denoting three gems of the Buddha, dhamma and sangha, saṅghā² is the only word of which the derivation is clear as the three gems are known to the old Burmans as purhā tryā saṅghā. We are still very much in the dark as to the origin of the words purhā and tryā.³ The old Mon used saṅghā⁴ and probably the Pyu sagha, which are only slight variations in spelling from the Burmese Saṅghā. The Pali sangha means the assembly or the multitude but the old Burmans affixed some adjectival phrases to that word and therefore we will consider here these phrases which came together with saṅghā in old Burmese in order to understand what saṅghā really meant to them.

We very often come across the phrase kloṇ niy so saṅghā⁵—monks living in monasteries which is quite different from taw mlat kri,⁷ taw skhiṇ⁸ and taw kloṇ saṅghā⁹—the lords dwelling in the forest—who would be otherwise known as Araṇṇavāsi or Araṇ. Skhiṇ saṅghā,¹⁰ the reverend monk, suggests that monks occupied an exalted position. They were respected by the people in much the same way as respect was shown to those belonging to the royal family or government officers who were addressed with skhiṇ prefixed to their names. As Prince Rājasūra, the great minister Anantasūra and King Klacwā were called Skhiṇ Rājasū, Skhiṇ Anantasū and Skhiṇ Klacwā¹¹ respectively, so the exalted lords of the Order were addressed Skhiṇ Wineydhur (Vinayadhara), Skhiṇ Mahākassapa, etc.¹² Even in cases where the monk is known by the lay name which is not infrequent, he is sure to get the honorific skhiṇ (e.g. Skhiṇ Nā Mlat Khac).¹³ But these skhiṇ of the monastery were by nature quite different from those in the royal family and executive offices as they were defined as

1. Pl. 135,^{11,15}, Pl. 241⁵, Pl. 255, Pl. 422,⁵, Pl. 431, Pl. 684, Pl. 695,^{8,10}, Pl. 805, Pl. 845, Pl. 9015, Pl. 94a^{27,30,32,35,37,47}, Pl. 94b^{12,31}, Pl. 1027,³⁵, Pl. 105a⁵⁶, Pl. 127a⁵, Pl. 131a², Pl. 140a⁴, Pl. 140b⁵, Pl. 143a^{5,8,22,28}, Pl. 1442,⁵², Pl. 1454, Pl. 147a⁵, Pl. 147b⁴, Pl. 1527,^{10,28}, etc.

2. Pl. 10a^{27,36}, Pl. 135,^{11,14}, Pl. 166, Pl. 175,¹⁰, Pl. 211¹, Pl. 221⁵, Pl. 28a¹⁸, Pl. 28b²², Pl. 315,^{18,56}, Pl. 361⁴, Pl. 531^{2,22}, Pl. 684, Pl. 722¹, Pl. 94a^{16,25}, Pl. 992², Pl. 100b¹⁸, Pl. 1022⁸, etc.

3. So far there has been no satisfactory answer as to the derivation of the words pruhā and tryā though some tentatively take the Sanskrit or Pali "vara" for the first and a spoonerised Sanskrit "ritā" for the second.

4. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, IX A^{6,18,20,22,54}, D⁴⁴ and G^{55,42,44}

5. *Ibid.*, I, i, The Pyu face of the Rājakumār Inscription line 17.

6. Pl. 10a²⁷, Pl. 166, Pl. 28a¹⁸, Pl. 132a⁵, Pl. 216⁴, Pl. 291², Pl. 599b⁶

7. Pl. 208¹⁷

8. Pl. 223a⁸

9. Pl. 125¹⁶

10. Pl. 94a¹⁶, Pl. 265⁵, Pl. 274⁵⁶, Pl. 283¹⁸

11. Pl. 105a²⁸ (Skhiṇ Rājasū), Pl. 79b¹ (Skhiṇ Ananta-sū) and Pl. 742⁵ (Skhiṇ Klacwā)

12. Pl. 152⁵⁰ (Skhiṇ Wineydhur), Pl. 123⁵⁰ (Skhiṇ Mahākassapa)

13. Pl. 385a⁷

saṅkham so *skhiṇ*¹—the patient lords, or *ñim niy so skhiṇ*²—the quiet lords. *Sāriputta* and *Moggallāna*, the two chief disciples of *Gotama* were also known as *Skhiṇ Sāriputtā* and *Skhiṇ Moggallān*³ and this shows that the people of our period considered their ecclesiastics on the same level as those of *Gotama*'s life time. This perhaps also leads them to define their monks as *purhā skhiṇ tapesā ariyā saṅghā*⁴—the noble monks, sons and disciples of the Lord Buddha or *purhā tape, sā rahan saṅghā*⁵—the worthy monks, sons and disciples of the Buddha. The word *tape*, freely translated means pupil but if it is to be connected with the Pali *tapassin* or Sanskrit *tapasvin* it would simply be another name for an ascetic. Anyhow, *tape*, usually is coupled with *sā*—the son and to be a *tape*, *sā* of somebody is to be attached to that person as apprentice to undergo a training on some craft for which he is considered master⁶ and it is believed that the master would teach his pupils as he would teach his own sons. In a religious sense, it means disciples. For example, a couple after dedicating five slaves to the pagoda prayed:

*purhā skhiṇ Mittaṇ phlac so khā lakyā raṇ so tape, sā krī Skhiṇ Sāriputtā
nā tuiw 2 yok phlac luiw sātē*⁷

When *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha, we two wish to become the right hand or the chief disciples as Lord *Sāriputtā* (was to *Gotama* Buddha).

It is left to the imagination as to how both a man and his wife were going to share the one and only existence of such an exalted position, but here *tape*, *sā krī* is clearly the *aggasāvaka* and therefore *tape*, *sā* would be a *sāvaka*—the disciple. The monks were also known as *ariyā saṅghā*⁸ and *rahan saṅghā*⁹ meaning the nobles and arahants. Although all the monks were not arahants, they were taken to be on the right way to *nirvana* as the arahants were *Anantasūra*, Commander-in-Chief of *Nātoṇmyā* in A.D. 1223 defined *saṅghā* as:

sāsana kuiw khyat ruy, staṇ kyan, so skhiṇ ariyā tuiw,...¹⁰
the noble lords, who practised self restraint for love of the Religion.

But the best descriptive phrase about the monks is given by a queen of *Tarukpliy* in A.D. 1266 as:

*kloṇ twaṇ niy so sataṇ samādhi praṇā hū so klaṇjū suṇ pā kuiw rhā so sataṇ
caṇ so purhā tape, sā rahan saṅghā*¹¹

the monks (or) the arahants—the disciple of the Lord (who) live in the monastery (and are) pure in piety (and) ever seeking the three graces of self-possession and wisdom

1. Pl. 73⁵⁰, Pl. 225⁸

2. Pl. 385a²

3. Pl. 64⁵

4. Pl. 249²⁴

5. Pl. 216⁵

6. Tradition goes further than this. If the master has a beautiful daughter the ablest of the pupils gets her hand in marriage and become "son" of the master. This explains well the combination *tape sā*.

7. Pl. 558a⁷⁻⁸

8. Pl. 211⁵, Pl. 162¹⁷

9. Pl. 311⁹, Pl. 216⁵

10. Pl. 732¹⁻²²

11. Pl. 2164⁻⁵, See also Pl. 181⁵

Thus *saṅghā* is synonymous with respectful, pious, wise and celibate. We have another reference which would be very useful if the information were complete. In a partly legible inscription dated A.D. 1198 a donor dedicated slaves and lands and said that some of the lands were for:

... *con tat so saṅghā || talān theñ tat so saṅghā || ... tat so saṅghā ||*¹

the monks who ..., the monks who sweep the compound and the monks who ...

From what it remains in the description, we find that there were monks who did some menial labour. But there can be no harm for a monk to sweep the compound of the monastery as keeping a religious place clean and tidy is also considered an act of merit. Some suggest that *con tat so saṅghā* is monks playing the harp. That is not possible because even a lay disciple observing *aṭṭhaṅgika uposatha* on sabbath days is forbidden *nacca*—dancing, *gīta*—singing, and *vādita*—playing instrumental music. In another inscription we find that the donor invested the *thera*—senior monk, with three duties:

*purhā phuiv kā therā siṁ ciy sate phurhā cut twañ ra rā phā ciy sate cañ pantyā
kuiw te plu ciy sate* ||²

The *thera* shall take charge of (the lands) for the pagoda and do repairs at the pagoda (with) whatever he gets (from the lands) and provide *cañ* (drums) and *pantyā* (?singing).

With regard to the last duty, it probably meant that the *thera* was to take charge of the pagoda slave musicians. Another inscription dated A.D. 1232 mentions that a slave was dedicated to the Three Gems to learn *pantyā*.³ It seems that the monasteries also gave some sort of musical courses—they probably trained pagoda and monastery slaves in the art of singing and music. From the illustrations just shown, we have a clear impression of what the old Burmans meant by the word *saṅghā*. *Saṅghā* belonged to the respected Order of the Buddha, lived in monasteries in the village or in the forest practising piety and were well on their way to *nirvana*. Of course, there were some *saṅghā* who had to manage the monastery and see that slaves of the establishment carried out their duties properly, including musical entertainment and the teaching of music to some slaves. They would occasionally sweep the compound themselves as that was a way of acquiring merit. This is the picture gained by the study of the word *saṅghā* with its various adjectival phrases. But *saṅghā* is not the only word used by the old Burmans to describe their monkhood.

There were other words to signify monks. The old Môn sometimes shortened *saṅghā* into *sañ*⁴ or supplement *sañ* with *arya* as *sañ ariy*.⁵ Very often they used their own

1. Pl. 211.12

2. Pl. 195a⁹.10

3. Pl. 94a⁴⁶. See also Pl. 276b¹¹

4. Ep. Birm., I, ii, 1 F⁴⁵

5. Ibid., 1 E⁹

word *gumīr*.¹ The old Burmans also used *sañ*² for all the monks and *sañkri*:³ for senior monks and *sañyañ*⁴ for junior monks. A forest dwelling monk was mentioned once as *sañ arañ*⁵ and like the old Mon, they also used the combination *sañ aryā*.⁶ The word *bhun:kri*: for a monk was not in use then although a very similar one *phun sañ*⁷—the possessor of merit—was sometime used as an honorific to a monk's name. But the term *phun sañ*⁸ was also applied to some lay devotees. Next to *sañghā*, the most popular term for a monk was *aryā*⁹ (*ariyā*) which originally meant noble and later was extended to include Buddhist monks. Sometimes the combination of *aryā sūtau koñ*¹⁰ is used, suggesting that to the old Burmans, *aryā* means a holy man. Next to *aryā*, they had *rahan*¹¹ which is derived from *arahā*—the person who arrives at the fourth and last stage on the way to *nirvana*.¹² But to the old Burmans the term *rahan* had no such meaning as they used *rahanā* for those who had acquired *arahattaphuīl* (*arahattaphalaṭṭha*) and therefore *rahan* simply means monk and to become one is termed *rahan mū*.¹³ Only adults of over twenty were ordained monks or nuns.¹⁴ Deacons or novices were called *samanīy*¹⁵ which is derived from the Pali *sāmaṇera*. The word *kuiṛaṇ* for a novice was not in use then and the words *syāñ*¹⁶ or *asyāñ*¹⁷ from which perhaps the word *kuiṛaṇ* is derived does not

1. *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, IC⁵⁵, E2⁹
2. Pl. 40⁵, Pl. 139¹⁷, Pl. 157^{10,10}, Pl. 223a⁸, Pl. 226²⁹, Pl. 241^{27,28}, Pl. 365c¹¹, Pl. 367a⁸
3. Pl. 6⁹, Pl. 22^{2,14}, Pl. 41¹⁵, Pl. 113⁸, Pl. 157¹¹, Pl. 263¹⁵, Pl. 362^{22,23,23,24,24,25,25}, Pl. 366⁵¹, Pl. 373a⁹, Pl. 381⁵⁶. The Mon face of the *Rājakumār* Inscription (*Ep. Birm.* I, i, pp. 55-6) also uses this term.
4. Pl. 113⁸
5. Pl. 40^{5,6}
6. Pl. 285²⁶
7. Pl. 118b⁵, Pl. 123^{14,15}, Pl. 134a¹⁸, Pl. 134b⁴, Pl. 157^{8,9,10,28}, Pl. 253b⁵, Pl. 329⁴
8. Pl. 74^{15,17,20}, Pl. 8a⁵, Pl. 18⁵, Pl. 21², Pl. 42^{2,4,4,15,16}, Pl. 43², Pl. 44b^{2,8,17}, Pl. 51^{2,11}, Pl. 56a^{8,8}, Pl. 74^{9,11}, Pl. 78b⁵, Pl. 79b²⁵, Pl. 122a⁴, Pl. 128a¹⁸, Pl. 128b^{5,6}, Pl. 182b² (*phunsañ ma*), Pl. 214b¹¹, Pl. 252², Pl. 331b¹¹, Pl. 335b¹¹, Pl. 373a⁵, Pl. 377b², Pl. 558a¹¹, Pl. 559b¹, Pl. 563a¹², Pl. 573b⁸, Pl. 594a^{5,17}, Pl. 599d², Pl. 602a^{8,10}. Perhaps the term in the latter part of our period was used only for the monks and the modern *bhun: kri*: evolves from it.
9. Pl. 121¹⁰, Pl. 211⁵, Pl. 732^{2,22}, Pl. 143a²², Pl. 198²⁵, Pl. 203^{12,16}, Pl. 206¹, Pl. 222a¹¹, Pl. 229²¹, Pl. 242¹⁵, Pl. 244^{28,30}, Pl. 246⁵, Pl. 249²⁴, Pl. 257⁵⁹, Pl. 268²⁷, Pl. 270²⁸, Pl. 271⁴⁸, Pl. 275²⁸, Pl. 276b^{4,7,10}, Pl. 280b¹¹, Pl. 282²¹, Pl. 285²⁶, Pl. 286^{15,15,18}, Pl. 289¹⁸, Pl. 293⁸, Pl. 295¹⁰, Pl. 298a^{5,7}, Pl. 307c⁶, Pl. 373b²⁵, Pl. 390¹², Pl. 392^{58,58,58}, Pl. 393⁵⁰, Pl. 395²¹, Pl. 396a³⁴, Pl. 396b⁷, Pl. 594⁷
10. Pl. 271⁴⁸
11. Pl. 32², Pl. 7⁸, Pl. 31^{18,58}, Pl. 44b¹¹, Pl. 147b²⁰, Pl. 149¹⁶, Pl. 200²², Pl. 211⁵, Pl. 216⁵, Pl. 220⁸, Pl. 240⁴, Pl. 256⁷, Pl. 263^{10,13}, Pl. 303⁴, Pl. 308^{52,53,53}, Pl. 331b⁵, Pl. 376^{4,5,5,9,11,14,14,15,17,18,25,28,30}, Pl. 381¹², Pl. 600b¹⁰
12. The *catthāro maggā* or Four Paths are four stages of sanctification leading to *Nirvana* and they are *sotāpattimaggo*, *sakadāgāmi maggo*, *anāgāmi maggo* and *arahattamaggo*.
13. Pl. 220⁹, Pl. 308^{52,53}, Pl. 381¹²
14. See J.F. Dickson: "Upasampadā-kammavāṭṭa", *JRAS*, VII, 1875, pp. 1-16
15. Pl. 308⁵³
16. Pl. 244²⁰, Pl. 246⁴, Pl. 271^{15,18,22,53,51}, Pl. 279¹⁸, Pl. 291¹⁵, Pl. 296^{8,10}, Pl. 380¹², Pl. 388a^{11,21}, Pl. 392⁵⁸, Pl. 395²¹, Pl. 419b⁴⁰, Pl. 423⁵
17. Pl. 368a², Pl. 389b⁵

mean a novice but a monk with the exception when *asyañ* was applied to royalty as *asyañ mañkrī*:¹—the liege lord, the great king. Monks addressed each other as *nā syañ*:²—my lord. They were also mentioned as *pancañ*:³ which literally means a pure flower and the spelling does not permit it to be connected with *pañcaṅga*, the five attributes or the burmanised *pañcañ*; as the modern Burman believes.⁴ Thus we find the use of *sañ*, *sañ ariy* and *gumir* among the old Mons for the monks and among the old Burmese, *sañ*, *sañkrī*, *sañyañ*, *sañ arañ*, *sañ ariyā*, *phun sañ*, *ariyā*, *rahan*, *samanīy*, *syañ*, *asyañ* and *pancañ*.

It will be interesting also to study the prefixes to a monks name meaning "the Reverend" etc. As the Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend, and Most Reverend are used before the names of the clergy, the old Burmans used such terms as *phun mlat so*⁵ or *mlat so*⁶ for senior monks, *mlat cwā sa*⁷ or *mlat krī*⁸ for the most senior monks and *mlat krī cwā*⁹ or *phun mlat krī cwā*¹⁰ for the exceptionally respected monks who were royal preceptors, etc. But such terms as *thera*¹¹, *saṅghā therā*¹² and *mahatherā*¹³ are equally popular. The old Burmans called their senior monks *chryā*¹⁴ (*acāriya*)—the teacher. Very often a monk would be referred to as the teacher of a certain prominent person among his lay

1. Pl. 24⁹, Pl. 682⁵

2. Pl. 271¹⁶

3. Pl. 41¹⁵, Pl. 100b²⁶, Pl. 113¹⁵, Pl. 128a^{14,20}, Pl. 149^{5,11}, Pl. 202¹⁴, Pl. 207¹⁴, Pl. 210b^{9,15}, Pl. 214a⁸, Pl. 218b⁷, Pl. 224¹⁷, Pl. 226¹⁵, Pl. 232^{8,8,8}, Pl. 257^{16,34}, Pl. 268⁷, Pl. 279²⁸, Pl. 284b⁸, Pl. 307b^{5,3}, Pl. 308^{5,3}, Pl. 329¹⁵, Pl. 335b⁶, Pl. 367a⁸, Pl. 370^{5,4}, Pl. 372²⁵, Pl. 373a^{15,15,15}, Pl. 423³⁰, Pl. 424²⁰, Pl. 578b¹⁸, Pl. 579^{6,12}, Pl. 602a¹⁵

4. The five attributes are connected with the ordination service where the perfection of the president of the chapter (to be of ten years standing as an elder monk), the perfection of the chapter (consisting of ten monks who have been ordained before without any flaw or mistake in their ordination services), the perfection of intonation during the service on the part of the president and his ten colleagues, the same on the part of the candidate and the perfection of the candidate as to his qualifications required by the service, are necessary. The qualifications of the candidate are:

1. He must not be suffering from such diseases as leprosy, boils, itch, asthma and epilepsy.
2. He must be over twenty, a male human being, with full permission from parents to become a monk.
3. He must be a free man, free from debts and from military service as well.
4. He must have the almsbowl and robes complete with him.

5. Pl. 297¹⁸, Pl. 246¹⁷, (*phun mlat*), Pl. 256⁴⁹, (*phun mlat*), Pl. 296⁵, Pl. 365c², Pl. 395⁸ (*phun mlat*)

6. Pl. 84¹⁵, Pl. 264¹⁵, Pl. 366¹⁹ (*mlat*), Pl. 373a¹⁴, Pl. 603b⁴ (*mlat*)

7. Pl. 261¹⁷, Pl. 578a²

8. Pl. 102⁸, Pl. 203², Pl. 208¹⁷ (*tawmlat krī*), Pl. 265^{2,5,10,15,17,21,28,30,35,35,37,38,40,41,41}, Pl. 256⁵⁰, Pl. 266b^{5,5,15,29,39}, Pl. 266c¹, Pl. 268^{2,27}, Pl. 270^{17,19,25,25}, Pl. 272⁸, Pl. 274^{5,8,10,10}, Pl. 277², Pl. 280b¹², Pl. 295⁸, Pl. 297^{5,6,6,7,8,24}, Pl. 298a², Pl. 299¹⁰, Pl. 392²⁸, Pl. 424^{5,8,12,15,18,18,20,35,34}, Pl. 594^{9,14,20}

9. Pl. 121¹¹, Pl. 215b¹¹, Pl. 235^{40,41,41}, Pl. 239¹⁸, Pl. 271^{49,51}, Pl. 384², Pl. 419b¹, Pl. 423^{51,55,55}, Pl. 424^{8,12,15,18,26}, Pl. 428^{4,18}

10. Pl. 196^{2,5,8,9}, Pl. 209⁷, Pl. 212⁵⁴, Pl. 221²⁵, Pl. 244⁴, Pl. 279^{2,4,12,20,25,25,24,50}, Pl. 423⁵, Pl. 424⁵⁵

11. Pl. 12⁹, Pl. 29^{6,19}, Pl. 70²⁰, etc.

12. Pl. 22¹¹, Pl. 30a⁹, Pl. 53⁷, etc.

13. Pl. 31^{15,24}, Pl. 62, Pl. 10a⁸, etc. Old Mon, *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, B^{45,45}; III, i, IX, A^{25,55,40,45,45,45}, D⁴⁴ and XI^{1,4}

14. Pl. 13⁵, Pl. 262^{8,26}, Pl. 36¹⁰, Pl. 67¹¹, Pl. 83¹⁸, Pl. 85^{2,11,19}, Pl. 120a²⁰, Pl. 123¹⁴, etc. *Chryā* would be used also for some people who were not monks (Pl. 205^{14,14,15,15,18}). In modern times, *chryā* is seldom used for monks with the exception of *charātau* or its shortened form *chatoau*. *Charā* today is a schoolteacher, physician, etc.

devotees. For example, the king's preceptor came to be popularly known as *mañ charyā*¹, and the preceptor of Queen Pearl (Queen of King *Klacwā*) as *Caw Pulay May Charyā*², the preceptor of a minister as *Amātkri Siriawathanā Chiryā*³ and so on. As a matter of fact, even the Lord Buddha is mentioned as *lū nat takā chiryā*⁴—the teacher of all men and *deva* or *sumlū charyā*⁵—the teacher of Men, *Deva* and *Brahma*. There is an interesting reference to a monk called *Ratanāucchi* who was known as *Nat Charyā Mlat cwā so Skhiñ Ratanāucchi*⁶—the Most Reverend Lord *Ratanāucchi*, the teacher of *deva*. *Pūmnā*⁷—*brahman* and *hurā*⁸—astrologer, would probably also be addressed as *chryā*. Another equally popular prefix to a monk's name is *sukhamin*⁹—the wise, although some people who were not monks were also known as *sukhamin*¹⁰ too; perhaps they were exmonks who were still called by that name after they had left the Order. It is also possible that they were so known for their wisdom or scholarship. There were also terms such as *taw thwak*¹¹ (monks or nuns who were once married) as well as *lū thwak*¹² (people who were once monks and nuns). Thus terms like *mlat kri*, *thera*, *sanghāthera*, *mahāthera*, *chryā* and *sukhamin* were prefixes to the names of senior monks who were regarded by the people with deep reverence. As they were learned they gathered around them quite a following who looked upon them as great teachers.

Among the followers of a prominent monk, *cāsañ*—the students, formed the most important group. They devoted their time to *pariyatti*¹³—learning. There were other monks who devoted their time to *paṭipatti*¹³—practice. In A.D. 1243, the Queen (? of *Klacwā*) who was the sister of *Tākakri*, and King *Uccānā*'s uncle *Samantakumītham* and wife built as many as twenty monasteries encircling a hollow pagoda, a library, a monastery and a hall of law, and dedicated three hundred *pay* of land, thirty slaves and fifty cattle for the students of the Most Reverend *Vinayadhara*.¹⁴ Thus the *thera* and his pupils could devote their time to study without troubling about food and shelter. A donor built five school buildings for the

1. Pl. 361¹⁰, Pl. 831¹⁰, Pl. 852, Pl. 1395, 24, Pl. 1823², Pl. 182b²¹, Pl. 191a^{9, 8}, Pl. 2615^{1, 34}, Pl. 29724, 27, Pl. 3788¹⁰, Pl. 581a¹⁷
2. Pl. 2461¹⁰, Pl. 266b¹⁴, Pl. 384^{6, 16}, Pl. 3957
3. Pl. 2445⁵
4. Pl. 2322
5. Pl. 388b⁴, Pl. 421a⁶, (3 *lū chryā*)
6. Pl. 3662¹⁰. In another case (Pl. 228b^{5, 7}) a monk is called *Nat thamañ ra so Skhiñ Thariñpā*—Lord *Thampi*, receiver of *Deva*'s food.
7. Pl. 1021¹⁰, Pl. 117a¹, Pl. 126b¹¹, Pl. 186⁶, Pl. 2037, Pl. 239⁹, Pl. 2624, Pl. 336b⁷, Pl. 417⁵
8. Pl. 44b¹⁶, Pl. 611⁵, Pl. 1021¹⁰, Pl. 121b^{6, 6}, Pl. 1331^{10, 10}, Pl. 186⁶, Pl. 21224, Pl. 263⁶, Pl. 27229, Pl. 2894¹⁴, Pl. 3663², Pl. 4281¹, Pl. 567a¹, Pl. 581a¹⁷
9. Perhaps the Tibetan *mk'yen-pa* (to know) is prefixed with *sū* (man) to mean "the man who knows". Pl. 123 15, Pl. 132a¹⁰, Pl. 1491⁵, Pl. 191a¹¹, Pl. 2381², Pl. 2517, Pl. 268⁶, Pl. 2719^{10, 10}, Pl. 373a¹⁰, Pl. 38121
10. Pl. 1623^{11, 17, 27, 55, 57}, Pl. 1634, Pl. 186⁶, Pl. 196⁵, Pl. 24225, Pl. 26125, Pl. 27213, Pl. 27319, Pl. 32912, Pl. 37055, Pl. 574a¹⁵
11. Pl. 252, Pl. 7621, Pl. 26911, 17. Literally it means those who had renounced the world and seek solitude in the forest.
12. Pl. 5791¹⁰. It means those who have gone back into the world.
13. Pl. 27526, 27
14. Pl. 1521¹⁰

students and a monastery for the *thera*, in one compound in A.D. 1236.¹ *Krāsavar* and wife in A.D. 1262, built within an enclosure wall with four gates, a hollow-pagoda, a great spired monastery, a brick monastery, a library, a *sīma*, a throne of law and eight school buildings and dedicated 652 *pay* of land and twenty slaves to the whole establishment.² Queen *Caw* in A.D. 1299 built a big spired monastery, a *sīma* and a school building.³

There were also some donors who made special provisions for the students of such establishments. A donor in A.D. 1235 said that out of the fifty *pay* he had dedicated, twenty were for the pagoda, five for the library, ten for the *thera* and fifteen for the students⁴ who should exclusively enjoy the produce of these fifteen *pay* of land. Queen *Caw* (of *Naraniga-Uccanā*), mother of *Singhapati* and *Tryāphyā*, in A.D. 1241 dedicated 300 *pay* of land and 174 slaves to a monastic establishment which had ten school buildings.⁵ On the death of Queen *Ratanapumī* daughter of *Sariy* (20 May 1262), King *Tarukpiliy* built a monastery for the Most Reverend *Mahā Kassapa* and dedicated 300 slaves and 300 *pay* of land of which fifty were for the students. As these illustrations show, the student population in those days was quite considerable and the people were well aware of the fact that these students should be encouraged and supported. They were given all the requisites of a monk so that they could devote their time to learning only.

There were also many lay devotees attached to the monasteries who were known as *upāsakā*⁶ or more popularly *satañ sañ*⁷ who would sometimes dedicate lands and slaves to the monastery as the *dāyakā*⁸ did. There were also people who looked after the comfort of the *thera* and they were known as *kappikā*⁹ (*kappiya*). The *kloñ sañ*¹⁰ however looked after the comforts of all the inmates of the monastery. These people may have been monks at one time or perhaps were unable to become monks for some reason or other. Perhaps the *kappikā* and *kloñ sañ* were the liaison officers used by the monks when dealing with the outside world. For example, in about A.D. 1248, when King *Klacwā* gave *kañhina* robes to monks, he also gave the Most Reverend *Mahā Kassapa* an elephant which was sent to a *Kanti* village on the Chindwin where it got lost. The *thera* sent his *kappikā* *Nā Myai Sai* to look for the lost elephant which was subsequently found in the hands of *Nā Kroñ Sai* and wife who were brought to the law court by the *kappikā* to answer for the *chañ klau*—elephant theft.¹¹ When monks bought land, which they often did in spite of the fact that they were frequently given acres and acres of it, such people would be used to conduct the transaction.¹² The following illustration will show us the nature of such transactions. *Saṅkrammasū*, great grandfather of the Most

1. Pl. 105a¹²

2. Pl. 205⁵

3. Pl. 390¹⁵

4. Pl. 85²⁵

5. Pl. 138²³

6. Pl. 297²⁰

7. Pl. 94a⁴⁷ (cane *satañ sañ*), Pl. 99⁷, Pl. 208¹⁶ (slave)

8. Pl. 44b¹⁷, Pl. 101²⁶, Pl. 122a¹⁴, Pl. 123¹⁹, Pl. 197²¹, Pl. 264⁴, Pl. 275³⁴, Pl. 280b⁵, Pl. 367b², Pl. 372⁴, 14, 16, 18, 45, Pl. 380¹⁶, 29, Pl. 578b⁶

9. Pl. 10a⁵⁰, Pl. 163¹⁷, Pl. 392²⁸ (slave)

10. Pl. 259⁵, Pl. 284b⁵, Pl. 290b⁵, Pl. 329¹⁵, Pl. 333¹⁵, Pl. 365b^{11, 12}, Pl. 377¹⁵, Pl. 543a^{25, 26}, Pl. 574a⁵

11. Pl. 163

12. Pl. 167 & Pl. 163

Reverend *Mahākassapa*, dedicated to the Religion eightynine *pay* of land at *Surokkha* in *Santarakharuṇi*.¹ After the death of *Saṅkrammasū*, one of his descendants called *Nā Rok Saṅ* took the land as if it were his inherited property. Adversity compelled him to sell it later to the *Cakraw* belonging to the frontier guard at *Chiptōn*—the Poison Mountain. After the death of *Nā Rok Saṅ* it was discovered that he had no right to sell the land and so the matter was brought before two judges—*Caturāṅkapuṇi* and *Acalapharac*. The royal register showed that the land originally was given by the king to *Saṅkrammasū*, and probably the judges also believed that *Mahākassapa* had better claims on the estates of *Saṅkrammasū* than *Nā Rok Saṅ*. *Mahākassapa* won the suit. Anyway *Mahākassapa* having compassion for his cousin *Nā Rok Saṅ* who had committed the greivous sin of molesting religious property and thus likely to suffer in hell, ordered *lū sukhamin*—the lay wise man, *Dhammabhaṇḍā*² to buy the land at fifteen *ticals* of silver per *pay* with money from *saṅghika uccā*—the fund of the monks. This happened in the year A.D. 1244³. In the same inscription where the above story is mentioned, there are five other cases mentioned⁴ where the lay wiseman *Dhammabhaṇḍā* was ordered to buy lands with the monks' money. So far we have shown *Mahākassapa* employing only laymen in land transactions. But we also have an instance where *Mahākassapa* employed monks for the purchase of land. This occurred when he bought 170 *pay* of land north of *Chumthā* great lake

... *phuiw khin so sū kā Syān Upa(kut) Syān Pañā Syān Uttamā lu kā sukrway Na...*⁵

The price was weighed by *Syān Upakut*, *Syān Pañā*, *Syān Uttamā* and the rich laymen *Na...*

Thus, there were such people known as *upāsakā*, *sataṇ saṇ*, *dāyaka*, *kappikā* and *kloṇ saṇ* who looked after the comfort of the monks and who carried out the business transactions of the monastery. The daily begging of food and preaching *dhamma* are about the only times that a monk usually comes into contract with the villagers.

There were also slaves who attended to the needs of a monastery. Although most of the donors mentioned simply in their inscriptions that so many slaves had been dedicated to the Three Gems, some would state the number that were to serve the monks.⁶ The total might vary from a whole village⁷ to one or two slaves.⁸ Sometimes, a donor would leave the monks of a particular monastery in charge of all the slaves that he dedicated,⁹ perhaps giving them the right to determine how many of them should serve the monastery. The *thera* of the monastery then would have the final say in such cases as he was the head of all the monks in the monastery.¹⁰ We have however, one exception where the donor, the *Mahāthera*

1. See map of the Eleven Villages in the Kyause District.

2. *Dhammabhaṇḍāgārika*, name given to Ānanda for his skill in remembering the word of the Buddha. DPPN, I, 262

3. Pl. 162

4. Pl. 162¹¹, 17, 27, 37, 57

5. Pl. 424⁴

6. Pl. 7350.3, Pl. 114a7.9, Pl. 127a5, Pl. 15224.5, etc.

7. Pl. 127a5 (*Mlaesā kloṇ kywan rwa*) and Pl. 21516 (*wat khlak rwa*)

8. Pl. 20816

9. Pl. 11216, (Pl. 132a5)

10. Pl. 143a26

Skhiñ Acala, the preceptor of Queen Caw (Queen of *Narasīṅgha-uccanā*) dedicated in A.D. 1241 one hundred pay of land and five slaves to the pagoda and said that after his death, only two monks—his favourite pupil *Gunāṇasīthi* and his nephew *Puñārasi*, were to take charge of the lands and slaves.¹ Inscriptions also give us some idea of the duties of these monastery slaves. In A.D. 1255, minister *Mahāsman* said that the duties of the slaves were "to fetch water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and to drink; to cook the rice food; and to sweep (the compound) and remove the refuse."² Queen Caw (younger sister of Queen *Ratanāpuri* and Queen *Phwā Caw*) in about A.D. 1301 mentioned the slaves of the monastery were:

*klōñ nhuik lup kluy so capā thoñ riy khap thañ khuy tanlañ mrak so kywan tuiw*³

those slaves who serve the monastery by pounding the paddy, fetching water, chopping firewood and sweeping the compound.

As most of the donors gave away land, cattle and slaves⁴, it is probable that most of the slaves, including those given to the monasteries were used largely as farm labourers either to look after the crop or cattle or both. Some slaves were allotted to tend the *sañthika* (*sanghika*) *nwā*⁵—cattle of the monks, and the *nuiw fhat nwā ma*⁶—milch cow, so that

*sañkham so skhiñ tuiw ... nuiw sac nuiw tham ryak tak thawpiy thawpat arasā nā pā cā cim so nhā*⁷

the patient lords (of the monastery) may enjoy the five delicacies of fresh milk, sour milk, butter milk, unclarified butter and clarified butter.⁸

The slaves of the monasteries, were sometimes so numerous that they alone formed a separate village. When only a few dozen slaves were attached to a monastery they might have had their own quarters within the monastery compound. Usually, the monks took charge of all the slaves dedicated to the Three Gems. Musical entertainment was one of their major services. Their other duties were to fetch water, chop firewood, cook food and clean the premises. A large portion of their number would be detailed to tend the crops and cattle as the monastery also owned lands and cattle. The milch cow seems to be a prized possession of the monastery as the monks enjoyed all kinds of dairy produce and therefore some slaves were turned into dairymen. This is all we know about the slaves of the monastery.

We shall now turn our attention to the lands of the monastery. As in the case of the slaves, the donors usually mentioned how much of the land dedicated to the Three Gems was for the monastery⁹ and some went even further and said that a certain portion was for the *thera*¹⁰, another for *saṅghā liymyakhā*¹¹—the monks from four directions, and the rest

1. Pl. 139

2. Pl. 186²⁷⁻⁸. See also *JBRs*, XXVI, i, p. 61.

3. Pl. 393²⁻³

4. Pl. 201^{5, 6, 7, 8, 10}, Pl. 344, Pl. 83^{6, 7}, Pl. 91¹⁴, etc.

5. Pl. 202²². "Peaceful cow"—*JBRs*, XXX, i, p. 331, n. 112; *BRsFAP*, II, p. 370, n. 112

6. Pl. 134⁴. See also Pl. 262²³.

7. Pl. 235⁸

8. See *JBRs*, XXX, i, p. 291 (*BRsFAP*, II, 331).

9. Pl. 422¹, Pl. 502, Pl. 105a⁵⁰, Pl. 164¹², Pl. 182b²⁸, Pl. 205²⁰, Pl. 217¹⁰, Pl. 241⁹, Pl. 396b⁷

10. Pl. 129, Pl. 85²⁵, Pl. 105a³⁴, Pl. 140b⁹, Pl. 203^{11, 12}, Pl. 242¹⁴, Pl. 286¹⁸, Pl. 396a⁶

11. Pl. 162¹⁰. See also Pl. 121¹⁰, Pl. 25³⁴, Pl. 41¹⁵, Pl. 94a¹⁸, Pl. 105a⁵⁰, Pl. 140⁹, Pl. 203^{12, 17}, Pl. 205²¹, Pl. 222a²⁰, Pl. 242¹⁵, Pl. 286¹⁸, Pl. 396b⁷

for the cāsañ—students.¹ We also have many instances where monks bought lands² for themselves.

These lands were purchased with the money received from their devotees³ and in some cases they appointed an agent to do the business transaction⁴ though we find in one instance that monks themselves were weighing the silver to pay for a land bought. Anyhow, it seems that agents were usually asked to carry out such transactions. Perhaps they did not wish to handle money themselves⁵ or they knew that they were not shrewd enough for such business which often led to disputes and law suits. For example, in A.D. 1277, one thousand pay of land, probably near Tabayin were bought for the monastery at the price of one thousand ticals of silver.⁶ The handing over of the land was delayed for nearly four years because of disputes. In the end, when possession of the land was obtained the monastery found that it had spent 1830½ ticals of silver and 53½ viss of copper. Monastery lands were usually free from any form of taxation. When King Tarukpiy was informed that village headmen had taxed the lands belonging to the mahāthera Samantabhadra in A.D. 1260 by mistake he sent his chief minister Mahāsman to stop the headmen and declared that the lands were free from taxation then and for ever afterwards.⁷ In connection with these monastic lands, we have instances where disputes over ownership arose between monks and kings or between monks and the laity or even among themselves.

A few instances of disputes were as follows. In A.D. 1235 King Klacwā and the monks disagreed as to the ownership of certain lands in the possession of the forest monastery of Jeyyapwat.⁸ Again in A.D. 1245, King Klacwā was doubtful as to the ownership of some pagoda land under the trust of three senior monks.⁹ In A.D. 1255, King Uccanā or Talapyam Mañ—the king who died at Dala, confiscated all glebe lands at Pankli of Chindwin¹⁰ which included 1500 pay of land belonging to the Reverend Lord Mahāmatimāthe of the Kramū Nīm forest monastery. In that very year, the king died at Dala—probably he and his retinue were murdered. Panpwat sañ mli—grandson of the turner i.e. Tarukpiy succeeded him. Then, Sariy, father of three of his queens informed him of the unjustified act of Uccanā in taking the lands of Mahāmatimāthe at the audience given in Kwan Prok Kri—the Variegated Great Hall. In all these cases investigations followed and the kings having been proved wrong the land were given back to the monks. We are greatly intrigued to find two monks as Sūkri in A.D. 1272. They appeared as witnesses to a land dedication.

...Si pā sakā rwā sukri Syañ Upakut mlac ok rwā sukri Syañ Mañkalapañā¹¹
...those who know are rwā sūkri Syañ Upakut, mlac ok rwā sūkri Syañ Mañkalapañā.

Occasionally there were disputes between monks and lay men and of this, we have two interesting cases.¹² The monks were successful in both cases. In A.D. 1315, the teacher of

1. Pl. 852⁵, Pl. 1053⁵, Pl. 195b⁶, Pl. 2032⁰

2. Pl. 162, Pl. 163, Pl. 268, Pl. 380, Pl. 395, Pl. 423, etc.

3. Pl. 1622⁴, 7, Pl. 3821⁰, Pl. 424⁰

4. Pl. 1620, 11, 17, 27, 55, 57, Pl. 1634

5. The dasasīlani of monks prohibits the handling of money.

6. Pl. 268; see also JBR, XXX, i, pp. 298-300; BRSP, II, pp. 338-40

7. Pl. 196

8. Pl. 9014.25

9. Pl. 213b

10. Pl. 296

11. Pl. 42422.5

12. Pl. 193 (A.D. 1259) and Pl. 381 (A.D. 1262)

Im Kri Sañ's monastery sued *Saṅkri Chan* and party in a civil court for encroaching on his land.¹ *Amhu cuiw*—the judges, decided in favour of the monk. Then *Skhiñ Dhammasiri* investigated and gave the same verdict. In spite of these judgements, *Saṅkri Chan* and party continued encroaching on the land and so Lord *Rājasū* took up the case and he affirmed the above verdicts. Note that a monk was also included in the investigations—*Skhiñ Dhammasiri*. He probably intervened only in cases where monks were concerned. As this episode occurred just on the fringe of our period, it may be possible to assume that in our period too in cases where monks were concerned, an elder or a committee of elders among the monks sometimes acted as arbitrators. Until the annexation of Upper Burma the ecclesiastical court also had legal authority.² We have, however an exception to this rule where a quarrel between two monks for land was decided in a civil court. In A.D. 1224 two *arañ* (*āraṇṇika*)—forest dwelling monks, disputed the ownership of four pay of hill-side cultivation on the hill of *Turañ*. *Akliwhi*, *Cattaruy*, *Kaccakāpatiy* and *Kaccapakram*—four judges heard the case and gave the land to *Arañ Nā Cuiw Sañ*.³ Thus monks individually or severally owned lands either through donations or by purchase and their appearance in law courts—both lay and ecclesiastical to claim lands was not infrequent. As these monastic lands were free from taxation and as they were continually increasing, some of the kings undoubtedly became greatly concerned at the loss of revenue. Thus where evidence was weak they confiscated them. Unfortunately, in the three cases mentioned above, the kings had to relinquish their seizure and acknowledge defeat.

Besides slaves, cattle and land, the donors also gave the monks various articles of daily use. Among the articles of daily use given to the monks, first and foremost comes food. They called it *niccapat*⁴ (*niccabhattam*)—the constant rice i.e. they made it their duty that they would never fail to offer some portion of their food to the monks when they came begging for it once every day. This duty is termed *wat*⁵ and *samput*, *chimi*, *kwam*, *pan*⁶—food, light, betel flower, all of which came under this heading. Very often *wat* itself is used in the sense of the Pali *vatthu*—objects of offering like almsfood, etc. Land producing food for the monastery are called *wat lay*⁷ or *samput lay*.⁸ We have also seen that *samput khyak kywan*⁹ or *wat khyak kywan*¹⁰ or *cā chwam nhyik lup khuy so kywan*¹¹—slaves for cooking food, were dedicated to monasteries. Detailed instructions to them would be given as to how much rice and curry was to be cooked for the *thera* and monks of the monastery. Two specimens of them are given below—one from an inscription dated A.D. 1241 and another from an inscription of about the end of the 12th century.

// niy tuiñ khyak so samput wat tac niy chan 3 prañ // capā twak kā chan 3 prañ //
hañ phuiw kwam phuiw khapañ cum tac niy so capā 10 prañ // ta la so capā 18
tañ 3 cit // tac nhac so 225 tañ //¹²

1. Pl. 421b^{14, 21}

2. During the Alaungpaya Dynasty, either the *thathanab* or a commission of eight elders had jurisdiction in cases under *Vinaya*, disputes about monasteries, gardens attached thereto, etc. See G.E. Harvey: *History of Burma*, p. 326

3. Pl. 54 (and duplicate Pl. 371b)

4. Pl. 392⁵⁴

5. Pl. 315^{5, 51}, Pl. 422⁸, Pl. 55b⁵, Pl. 1382^{8, 29}, Pl. 245b⁵, Pl. 259¹⁵, Pl. 270¹⁷, Pl. 285²⁵, Pl. 286¹¹, Pl. 293¹⁸, Pl. 365a^{4, 4}, Pl. 370^{26, 50}, Pl. 380^{1, 50}, Pl. 382¹⁹, Pl. 383a^{9, 16, 19, 21}, Pl. 389a⁵, Pl. 390²², Pl. 392^{55, 56}, Pl. 393¹⁸, Pl. 396b⁴, Pl. 417⁹, Pl. 419^{57, 42}, Pl. 421b^{15, 21}, Pl. 423⁴⁴, Pl. 594⁸

6. Pl. 735⁵⁰

7. Pl. 315^{5, 51}, Pl. 55b⁵, Pl. 245b⁵, Pl. 259¹⁵, Pl. 370^{26, 50}, Pl. 419^{57, 42}, Pl. 421b^{15, 21}, Pl. 423⁴⁴

8. Pl. 61⁸, Pl. 111⁵, Pl. 68¹¹, Pl. 105a²⁷, Pl. 365b⁹

9. Pl. 502²²

10. Pl. 417⁹

11. Pl. 275²⁸

12. Pl. 1382^{8, 9}

As for the daily cooked-food offering, three *prañ* of rice are cooked daily. Paddy is to be taken out of stores enough to get 3 *prañ* of rice. The cost for curry and the cost for betel, all complete, in a day is 10 *prañ* of paddy. The monthly (total) is 18½ baskets of paddy. Yearly it is 225 baskets.

...*kloñ kri con so skhiñ sañghā* 1 yok kuiw *kā* 1 niy *chan* 1 *prañ hañ phuiw capā* 2 *prañ cā ciy sate i apa* 108 yok so *skhiñ aryā tuiw kuiw kā* 1 niy *chan i tum hañ phuiw capā* 1 *prañ cā ciy sate* 1 //

As for the worshipful monk who looks after the big monastery, 1 *prañ* of rice and 2 *prañ* of paddy as the cost of curry are allowed to be consumed daily. (Each of) the remaining 108 worshipful monks may consume 1 *tum* of rice and 1 *prañ* of paddy as the cost of curry daily.

Rice and curry for the reverend lords is termed *chwan*.² Some donors invited a large number of monks to a feast³ on the occasion of big dedications. Invitation of 100 monks was not a rare occurrence.⁴ Towards the end of our period the monks were served not only with rice and curry but also with *yañimakā aphyaw*⁵—sweet liquor made from palmyra palm juice at some of these feasts. Palmyra palms were very often dedicated to the monastery⁶ or planted around it.⁷ Perhaps these people supplied the *yañimakā aphyaw*, jaggery, fans and writing material for the monks from the leaves. The people of our period made it a daily practice to share a certain portion of their food with the monks. The rich gave cultivable lands to provide food for the monastery and also slaves with full instructions to cook it.

Next to food comes *chīmī*—oil lamps for lighting. The oil used for lighting was extracted from sesamum and a donor mentioned that 50 (measures) of sesamum yielded 20 *tanak* of oil.⁷ It is probably the same donor who dedicated 750 *pay* of land under sesamum and millet and said :

/ra so nham nham chī kā piṭakat 3 pum so ta niy chīmī 3 khwak ceti ta khwak/
kloñ ū ta khwak / kloñ twan ta khwak / phurhā ryap ta khwak / nā smī plu so
kū 4 myaknhā so chīmi 4 khwak nīhi ciy sate /8

As for sesamum and oil that (the land) produces, three cups of oil lamps are to be lit daily at the *tipiṭaka*, one cup at the *cetiya*, one cup at the porch of the monastery, one cup in the monastery, one cup at the standing Buddha and four cups of oil lamps at the four sided hollow-pagoda built by my daughter.

1. Pl. 39329-30

2. Pl. 73⁵¹, Pl. 246⁴, Pl. 274⁵⁶, Pl. 275²⁵, Pl. 279^{17, 22, 31}, Pl. 299^{5, 9}, Pl. 3931⁶

3. Pl. 68⁹, Pl. 175^{5, 10}, Pl. 361⁴

4. Pl. 100a⁶, Pl. 582b^{9, 14}

5. Pl. 233¹⁴. See also *JBRs*, XXX, i, pp. 321-322, n. 69; *BRSFAP*, II, pp. 361-2, n. 69

6. & 7. Pl. 121¹⁰, Pl. 737, Pl. 1361^{2, 14}, Pl. 2027²², Pl. 2331⁵, Pl. 253b⁶, Pl. 372⁶, etc.

7. Pl. 39029-30

8. Pl. 39322-4

Professor G.H. Luce remarked: "How dark their nights must be or have been!"¹ But there were also special nights when *chīmithon*²—one thousand oil lamps were lit. As a matter of fact it was not necessary for the monks to have too much light at nights as their only duty after dusk was for the younger ones to repeat from memory what they had learnt from the canon during the day and for the older ones to find a secluded corner and meditate. But there were always donors to give them sesamum oil for lighting and at times even land to grow sesamum.

Next to light, a donor's duty was to provide a monk with the betel quid or the necessary ingredients for making one. The betel leaf was called *sam mlhū*³ and a donor in A.D. 1212 mentioned that he gave the monks ten *sam mlhū* and forty bundles of areca seeds. We are not told what type of measure that ten was. Probably it was ten viss. As for the areca seeds measure, the old Burmans used *kaḍun*⁴ (*kuduba*, *kudava*) a measure of three fingers square and one and a half finger deep or a handful of grains. Princess *Acawkrwam* in A.D. 1248 said that while building the hollow-pagoda she spent among other things 2 *kaḍun* and 1160 areca seeds and while building the spired monastery 2200 seeds. A donor gave six baskets of paddy to the monastery to cover the expenses of fruit and betel.⁵ For offering food, light and betel to the pagoda throughout the year another donor gave 117 baskets of paddy and for similar offerings to the *thera* and the monks 200 and 650 baskets of paddy respectively.⁶ Sometimes, betel quid was offered by the thousand,⁷ probably when the donor invited a thousand monks to a feast to commemorate a big dedication. Some appurtenances of betel chewing like *kwam ac*⁸ and *kwam khyap*⁹ or *kwam kap*¹⁰—betel boxes, *kwam khyam*¹¹—nut cracker or cutter, *kwam lon*¹²—betel boat and *ihun phū*¹³—phials of chunam were also given to the monasteries. Seeds of the areca palm, leaves of the betel piper vine, white shell-lime or chunam and cutch—the ingredients of making betel quids were constantly supplied together with their containers to the monastery. It suggests that chewing betel was very popular among the monks and one who did not have that habit would be a very rare exception. We find the mention of such a monk by the name of *mlat kri cwā Kwamimac*¹⁴—the Most Reverend Don't Eat-Betel or who may have been from *Kwam na cā rwā*¹⁵. There

1. JBRs., XXX, i, p. 293; BRSFAP, II, p. 333

2. Pl. 117b⁷

3. Pl. 36¹⁸, 21, 25, Pl. 495b¹², (Pl. 559a¹¹) Skt, *krama*—the betel nut tree—

4. Pl. 164³⁵, 39. M.M.-W: Skt.-Eng. Dictionary, p. 289; Middle Mon *kaḍun*; Late Mon *kadun*

5. Pl. 138²⁵

6. Pl. 226²⁰, 50

7. Pl. 372³⁹

8. Pl. 135b¹² Sometimes the betel boxes were made of silver (Pl. 312b⁸) or gold (Pl. 265⁷) and studded with jewels (Pl. 421b⁹).

9. Pl. 138¹⁴

10. Pl. 265⁷

11. Pl. 38b¹⁵

12. Pl. 312b⁸, Pl. 421b⁹

13. Pl. 265⁷. A gold gourd-phial of chunam together with a gold betel box were given by the wife of *Cahsa-khā* to the Reverend *Tāmalin* in about A.D. 1278.

14. Pl. 422b²

15. Pl. 75a⁷

were also villages with the names of *Kwam̐ rwā*¹ and *Kwam̐cātuk*.² As a matter of fact, this *kwam̐* comes under the category of food which is one of the four necessities of a monk.³

Donors of our period were always careful to provide the Order with all of the *paccañ le pā*⁴ (*catupaccaya*)—four necessities of a monk. They gave away land so that *skhin̐ saṅghā* *tuw̐ kwiw̐ paccañ 4 pā ca so chiy̐ wā uthok apañ phlac̐ cim so nhā*⁵—the reverend monks get the supply of four necessities such as medicine, and they gave away slaves so that *kuiw̐ cā paccañ 4 pā lup̐ klwāñ cim so nhā*⁶—serve (the monks) with the four necessities on their behalf. Some donors considered that to provide *chiy̐ wā*⁷—medicine, was very important although they made no specific mention of the sorts of medicine or medical treatment they used in those days. Perhaps the five standard medicine frequently mentioned in the *Vinaya*⁸ were considered the best for the monks because we find the mention of *thawpiy̐*⁹—unclarified butter, *thawpat*¹⁰—clarified butter, *chī*¹¹—oil, *pyā*¹²—honey and *taṅṭay*¹³—molasses, in the inscriptions and the *Jātaka* plaques of our period in connection with the monks. We have references which said that certain monasteries had *thawpat ki*¹⁴—storehouse for clarified butter. Regarding the provision of medicines, in A.D. 1291, Queen Caw said:

// nā kloñ twāñ niy so skhin̐ tuw̐ sañ phyā nā so le // chiy̐ wā // su nā nhañ ap
so paccañ kā ra ciy kun sañ // khandhā lhyāñ pyok so le thañ phuiw̐ // lhyā
phuiw̐ // ma kroñ kra ciy cwam̐ te // ¹⁵

If the monks who dwell in my monastery fell ill, may they get medicine and things proper for the sick. When the body disappears (in case of death) may there be no anxiety for the cost of fire-wood and the cost of *lhyā*¹⁶

Incidentally, note that the monks cremated their dead and the people took care of the funeral as is still the practice in Burma today. Thus monks were well supplied with medicines and they did not have to worry about the funeral of their fellows either.

The clothing of the monks is also one of the four necessities. *Saṅkan*¹⁷ is the old Burmese word for the robe of a monk and it is derived from the Pali *saṅghātī*—the outer

1. Pl. 396a⁵⁰

2. Pl. 276b¹⁰. Luce suggests that it was a special building for chewing betel. See *JBRs*, XXX, i, p. 312, n. 64; *BRSFAP*, II, p. 352, n. 64

3. The four requisites are *cīvaram*—clothing, *piṇḍapāto*—food, *senḍasanam*—bedding and *bhesajjam*—medicine.

4. Pl. 69¹⁰, Pl. 131a⁴, Pl. 152⁸, Pl. 190a¹², Pl. 205²³, Pl. 217⁶, Pl. 249²⁵, Pl. 283¹⁸, Pl. 2917¹¹, Pl. 293⁹, Pl. 307c⁸, Pl. 365a⁴, Pl. 390²²

5. Pl. 390²²

6. Pl. 152⁸

7. Pl. 96¹⁶, Pl. 275²³, Pl. 293⁹, Pl. 390²³

8. I.B. Horner: *The Book of Discipline*, II, pp. 131-2. The five are *sappi*—clarified butter, *narantā*—butter, *tela*—oil, *madhu*—honey and *phāṇita*—molasses.

9. & 4. Pl. 393²⁻³

10. Pl. 393²²

11. Pl. 361^{8, 28}

12. *Ep. Birm.*, II, No. 20

13. Pl. 94a³⁵ (A.D. 1223), Pl. 376⁵⁴ (A.D. 1240)

14. Pl. 275²³⁻⁵

15. Unfortunately we are unable to give the meaning of the word nor the idiom of the practice.

16. Pl. 10a¹⁵, Pl. 175⁸, Pl. 19b⁵, Pl. 211⁶, Pl. 30a³, Pl. 53¹⁸, Pl. 117b², Pl. 138^{15, 15}, Pl. 333⁴, Pl. 368b⁵, Pl. 390¹⁸, Pl. 393^{18, 28, 28, 51}, Pl. 423¹¹

garment but it also means all the three robes of the monks.¹ Moreover, we find the mention of *sakkhami*² or *khruy'khami*³ as inner garments for the upper part of the body and *sanpuin*⁴ for the nether part. *Tuyān* and *tankyat*⁵ too are the monastic robes but unfortunately we are unable to identify them. Perhaps they are outer robe and inner garment respectively as Professor Pe Maung Tin suggests.⁶ *Kawthā*⁷ is another kind of monastic robe which we are also unable to identify. *Pañsakū*⁸ (*pañsakū*) the dusty robe was also given to the monks. Perhaps it comes from the original theory that the dress of a Buddhist monk should be made of dirty rags taken from a cemetery or a refuse pit and pieced together. But it was never strictly enforced and there were only a few monks who insisted on using only such type of robes. Such monks came to be popularly known as *Skhin Pañsakū*.⁹ As it is mentioned in the inscriptions that *pañsakū* was given to the monks, we gather that the original idea of monks taking for themselves the dusty rags discarded by the people was already modified and it may mean only an indirect giving of the robe by the donor to the monk by leaving it in the path of the monks.¹⁰ In the month immediately after *Wā*¹¹—the Lent, the monks are given *kathin*¹² robe which must be received only by a chapter of five monks. Of these only the one who is in sore need of a robe may have it. Although the time permitted for this particular type of offering is one whole month, the first day of it, i.e. the fullmoon day of *Satan: kywat* or the last day of it, i.e. the full moon day of *Tanchoṇmun*; are the most popular days for such an offer. In the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of this offer once on the first day¹³ and thrice on the last day¹⁴ of the period. Sometimes various other articles of daily use were also given together with the *kathin* robe and such articles were usually hung on an artificial tree known as *pateṇsā pañ*¹⁵. But the following example shows that giving a robe is not confined only to the end of the Lent.

1. The three are *Saṅghāṭi*—outer garment, *Uttarasāṅgo*—upper garment and *Antaravāsaku*—lower garment, which are in modern Burmese called *dukut*, *kuiwat* and *san: puin* respectively. While using the robes, a monk is expected to bear in mind that "In wisdom I put on the robes as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun and the touch of serpents and to cover nakedness, i.e. I wear them in all humility, for use only and not for ornament or show." (*JRAS*, VII, new series, 1875, p. 7)
2. Pl. 362⁵
3. Pl. 212¹⁴
4. Pl. 393¹⁹
5. Pl. 138¹³, 13, 14
6. *JBR*, XXVI, i, p. 61
7. Pl. 372¹¹
8. Pl. 232, Pl. 372³⁶
9. *Pañsakūlika*—one who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dust heap. Pl. 2994, Pl. 4282⁶. See also *Hmannan* para 142; *GPC*, p. 132.
10. In modern Burma, not only a monastic robe but any object, e.g. coins, umbrellas, hats, etc., are left on highways in the dead of night so that the earliest passer-by may get them. This kind of charity is known as "throwing *pañsakū*". If an article is specially meant for monks, it is left in or around the monastery. Even then the first finder, be he lay or monk, has the right to possess it.
11. The Lent begins after the full moon day of *Wāchui* (late in July) and ends on the full moon day of *Satan: kywat* (late in October). Pl. 138 23, 26, 27, Pl. 752¹, Pl. 289¹⁹ (*wā sumla*); Pl. 3085⁴, Pl. 372¹¹, 12
12. Pl. 232, Pl. 1176 7, Pl. 3082⁵, Pl. 372³⁶
13. Pl. 274⁷
14. Pl. 992, Pl. 235¹, Pl. 272¹²
15. Pl. 1176³

*khraññay sañ kā khraññan ruy yan sañ kā puchuiw rak ruy wāchuiw sañkan 1
chū wākhon sañkan 1 chū wā kīwat sañkan 1 chū skhīn therā kuñ kap ciy sate||.../
skhīn 108 tuw kā wāchuiw sañkan 1 yok 1 chū phlac-ciy sate||*

Let the spinners spin the thread and the weavers weave the loincloth and give the lord *therā* one set of monastic robes at the beginning of Lent, one set of monastic robes in the middle of Lent and one set of monastic robes at the end of Lent... Let it come to pass that each of the 108 lords (also get) one set of monastic robes at the beginning of Lent.

Perhaps the donor was very generous and not content with giving *kaṭhina* robes which meant that only one monk in five may have a robe. He wanted all monks to receive a robe each. Hence he used this method. Thus the three kinds of garment which made a set of monastic robes was given to the monks whenever they were in need of it or at the end of Lent. For the few who insisted on adhering to the old idea of wearing only the rags salvaged from refuse pits, the considerate donor would leave the robe at a place quite close to his dwelling so that he might soon find a so-called discarded rag practically at his very door steps. In fact the robe is one of eight articles that monks are entitled to possess.

The eight requisites of a monk are known as *parikkharā yhaṇ pā*² and usually a would be monk must bring all these eight with him to the ordination service and the orthodox view is that these eight were all that a monk may have as personal possessions. But the people of our period had vastly extended the *parikkharā* so that it even included *sanryan*³-palanquin, *lūy*⁴-boat, and *chañ*⁵-elephants, for the monks as means of transport. The following extract gives us a rough idea of such additional *parikkharā*.⁶

*||k[on sañghika watthu kā|| salwan 2 chu|| sanryan 3 chū|| samphlū mwam hīy, 10
thañ ||... 3 thañ|| aṭham 3 cañ|| pu chin 3 cañ tarwan 3 cañ|| mikhat 3 cañ|| kriy
santhun 3 cañ|| 1 Tha Nāy puchuiw lū 3 cañ|| chok 3 cañ|| i mhya so kā|| kloñ
sañghika watthu te||*⁶

The articles exclusively for the monks⁷ of the monastery are, two couches, three palanquins, ten very good mats, three... cloths, three porter's yokes, three axes, three spades, three flints, three copper razors, three cutters of loincloth (?scissors) of *1 Tha Nāy*, three chisels. These are the articles exclusively for the monks of the monastery.

Such articles as *myakkhat*⁸-broom, *chañ lañ*⁹-bell, *khwak tac pway*¹⁰-a set of dishes, *cākhwak*¹¹-cup for eating, *santiy*¹²-bowl, *cālon*¹³-pot cover, etc. were also included in the requisites for

1. Pl. 3932¹⁰. 51

2. *Aṭṭha parikkharā* consists of *patto*-almsbow, *tiṇvaram*-three robes, *kāyabandhanani*-girdle, *vāsi*-razor, *sicī*-needle and *parissāvanani*-water strainer. Pl. 390¹⁵, Pl. 422b⁴, Pl. 423¹¹

3. Pl. 253a⁷, (Pl. 421b⁸)

4. Pl. 235²

5. Pl. 423¹¹

6. Pl. 373b 14.18

7. *Saṅghika*. Pl. 1132⁵, Pl. 1629, 11, 17, 57, Pl. 1634, Pl. 2022², Pl. 373b 14, 16, Pl. 375², Pl. 382¹⁰, Pl. 3982¹⁰, 32, Pl. 424b, Pl. 559b¹⁰

8. Pl. 1382⁰

9. Pl. 182a¹¹

10. Pl. 372²⁶

11. 12 & 13. Pl. 262 22.5

the monks. A donor gives a long list of vegetables grown in his garden donated to the monastery and he added a long list of articles (partly illegible) given to the monks. The list includes *uiw*-pots, *yap-fan*, *ñoncon*-couch, *klokyā*-grinding-stone, *puchin*-axe, *chui*-mortar, *klipwe*-pestle, *riy mhut*-water-dipper, *tanchoi*-chandelier, *lanpan*-tray, *tamkhwan*-streamer, *ip rā*-bedding, *bratuiw*-spittoon, *karā*-jug, *chimkhwat*-oil lamp, *mlii phlu*-chalk, *saiipun*-blackboard, *parabuit*-paper folded backwards and forwards for writing, *kanikuchan*-soapstone pencil and *kanikū tamkleñ*-cylindrical case for the soapstone pencils.¹ Of *saiip*² -the almsbowl, we have a record of a donor giving as many as one thousand.³ Probably most of these bowls were earthen or lacquer ware but we also have references to those made of copper,⁴ gold⁵ and silver.⁶ Thus *parikkharā* includes all the eight requisites of a monk plus various other things of everyday use in those days.

Another important item in the four necessities of a monk is *seṇḍanā*- bedding or lodging, and in its broadest sense the old Burmese took it as providing the monks with shelter from heat and cold. *Ari Caw* in A.D. 1260 said:

//*skhin ariyā pū so khyam so paipam so arim cim so nhā sañ takā aiy so akhu
thera nham akwa so ariyā tuw niycim so nhā klon le plu e,*// *thuiw kadi klon kō aroñ
arami thup lyok akhrañ amuiw khapan so kuw le tañ tay cwā so nham akrañ chiy
thañ hañsapatā tuw phlañ le riy e,*// *rhu kyaktanuiw le tap e,*// *athak piam kō
rhu krā nham nham tañ tay cwā aroñ awā le tok pa ciy e,*//

In order to relieve the lord *ariyā* from heat, cold and fatigue (and) in order to provide (a place) to live in for the Lord *thera* who is the central person of the Order and all the monks, (I) also build a monastery. As for this *kula klon*-brick monastery, all of the *asañ*-posts, *arami*-railings, *thup*-crossbeams, *lyok*-pieces supporting the rafters, *akhrañ*-rafters, and *amuiw*-roof, are painted beautifully and wonderfully with *chiythañ*-yellow orpiment and *hañsapatā*-vermilion. *Kyaktanuiw*⁸ made of gold is also fixed (? to the ceiling). The upper *pitan*-canopy, is completely (covered with) golden lotus (pattern) so that its radiant colours would shine beautifully.

What a magnificent monastery it must have been! Another queen made an equally magnificent monastery and the description of it runs as follows:

//*satañ samāthi koñ so akyañ nham plañ cum so ariyā pukkui kuw rañ nā ratu
pā nuih nā nwat cwā so arip sāyā so mwam khon ta cwan so kri cwā so klon le
plu tāu mu e' rhu phway nham hi so athū 2 chan kray so chiy le riy e'*//

1. Pl. 310ab

2. Pl. 117b⁹, Pl. 305⁵

3. Pl. 372⁵⁹

4. Pl. 15⁸, Pl. 182a²⁰

5. Pl. 65b⁴, Pl. 138¹⁵

6. Pl. 138¹⁵

7. Pl. 194^{14, 18}

8. See Pl. 73¹⁵, Pl. 97¹⁵, Pl. 194¹⁷, Pl. 308²⁵ and Pl. 372⁴⁰. See also *JBR*, XXII, iii, 124, n.3.

9. Pl. 390^{11, 15}

With intention (to provide shelter) for the noble lords who are replete with good practices (of) self-restraint and self-possession, (I) build a very big, fine and high roofed monastery (so that it would give a pleasant shade agreeable in all three seasons. (I) also let it be painted with various wonderful and admirable (designs).

No doubt every *kloṇ tāyakā*¹—donor of a monastery wanted to build such a grand one but some had to be content with building only a *sac nāy muiw kloṇ*²—thatch roof monastery. Anyway, most of them endeavoured to construct *tañ tay cwā so kloṇ*³—the goodly monastery, or *sāyā cwā so kloṇ*⁴—the pleasant monastery.⁵ Some donors even converted their houses into monasteries.⁶ King *Klacwā*'s aunt desirous to turn her house which was given by *Klacwā* into a monastery, said:

//mīlat cwā so nā skhīn atuiw kywan kuiw plu piy so im te sāl le sāl nuiw cwā e, //
athuiw kywan tuiw niy so thak kā//saṅkhā niy so mlay e, hu ruy kū le plu e, //
im le kloṇrañ e, // piy taw mū so im thoñ kywan lay le atuiw kywan thū e, //nā krā
rakā mithuy tañ ap nuiw so saṅkhā thā lañ hu min taw mu e//7

"My exalted Lord, the house you built and gave your servant is really very pleasant. But thinking that it would be excellent for monks to live there rather than for us, your servants, I built a hollow pagoda and intended (to turn) the house (into) a monastery. The household slaves and lands that you gave your servant, I dedicated". When I told this (to the King) he said: "Let my aunt place there a worthy monk."

There were also such buildings as *tawkloṇ*—forest monasteries and *kulā kloṇ*—brick monasteries, which we will discuss later.

Although Pagan is noted for many pagodas we find that the inscriptions of our period contain more material on the construction of monasteries than of pagodas. Perhaps this is so because the people believed that to build a monastery was one of the most meritorious deeds a man could achieve as the following extracts will show. In A.D. 1273, *Samṇyañ akchoṇ* built a monastery at a place called *Āmanā* and dedicated 295 *pay* of land and 70 slaves to that monastery and wished that all those who supported his establishment might also share

phurhā prañā phlañ ma puññ ma khrā so atuiñ ma sī so kloṇ akuñw 8
the merits of (building) the monastery (which are) so vast that (even) the knowledge of the Lord could not put a limit to them.

Princess *Acawpatañsā*, after building a monastery for the Reverend *Anantapañā* in the same quarter of *Āmanā* also expressed her wish that the supporters of her establishment may share

1. 231⁵, Pl. 1012, Pl. 280b⁵, Pl. 578b⁶

2. Pl. 4282⁶

3. Pl. 12⁶, Pl. 285⁵

4. Pl. 691⁰, Pl. 732⁰, Pl. 220⁶

5. We must bear in mind that not all the *kloṇ* built by the old Burmans were for the Order. There were also *purhā kloṇ* (Pl. 662¹, Pl. 389b⁵)—shrines and *trayā kloṇ* (Pl. 68⁵, 247¹⁰)—Hall of Law.

6. (Pl. 143a⁶, Pl. 144²), Pl. 145¹⁰, (Pl. 147a⁷, Pl. 183a⁴)

7. Pl. 181⁶⁻⁹. See *JRS*, XXVI, iii, p. 133

8. Pl. 24312¹⁵

phurhā nhat taw phlan ma hāw nuin so kloñ akuñw!

the merits of (building) the monastery (which are so vast that) even the Lord cannot express them (in full).

However vast and inexplicable the merits were, the monks would often be requested to give *kloñ akuñw tryā*²—a lecture on the merits of building a monastery, whenever a donor had finished that kind of good deed.³ Thus, the old Burmans built monasteries or turned their houses into monasteries, in the belief that they were providing the monks with one of their four necessities and although this originally meant just a shelter from heat and cold, their enthusiasm to acquire more and more merit naturally led them to beautify it so that it would look grand and magnificent. Perhaps the donors usually spent more on building these monasteries than they had estimated. We have evidence where a donor had to sell his horses so that he might continue building the monastery with the proceeds of the sale.⁴ Perhaps one of the reasons for this enthusiasm was that they believed they were going to get an unlimited amount of merit from the act. The various types of monasteries they built and the cost of construction will be described in detail later. Incidentally, we must mention here that in an inscription dated A.D. 1232 we find mention of *cane satan sañ kloñ*⁵—the monastery of those who take sabbath on Saturday. We do not know what sort of religious belief they had and why they had fixed their sabbath on Saturdays. Even after a monastery was built, the donor felt that his duty was not over. He must maintain it.

To maintain a monastic establishment he had just founded, a donor usually dedicated lands and slaves to it. Indirectly, it meant that the monks living in the monastery could utilise them with the assumption that when the buildings needed repairs, they would look after them as well. But some donors were more explicit.⁶ The wife of *Sūpharac* in A.D. 1245 left thirty *pay* of land out of 685 mainly for the purpose of repairs at her monastery.⁷ Two donors in A.D. 1263 bought fifty *pay* of land and dedicated it to the monastery of *Krwam Skhiñ* saying:

*[[kloñ nhuik niy so skhiñ tuiw nī riy cā kra ciy sate kloñ pyak cī so le nī ruy plu kra ciy sate]] ma plu piy mukā phun ma kri asak ma rhañ naray kham ciy sate]]*⁸

May the monks living in the monastery in unison enjoy (the produce of the land) and in unison do the repairs when the monastery is ruined. If they neglect repairs may they not enjoy glory or long life (but) suffer the miseries of hell.

It is a rare example where the donor puts a curse on the monks if they neglect the repairs of the monastery. Another donor in A.D. 1269 dedicated slaves to the monastery and among the slaves he included three carpenters and three blacksmiths to do the repairs when the

1. Pl. 254b^{16,17}

2. Pl. 233¹⁵

3. Probably the monks used stories from *Vimāna Vatthu* to illustrate their speech like their modern counterparts. *Vimāna Vatthu* give examples where just a word of appreciation for others' work of merit was rewarded enormously, not to speak of the benefits reaped from doing the deed oneself. A lay devotee said a word of appreciation when *Visakha* had finished building a monastery and as a result of it, after her death, she was reborn a *devī* and had "a great mansion that could travel through the sky, beautified with many pinnacles, with park, lotus-pond and the like, 16 *yojanas* in length and breadth and height, diffusing light for a hundred *yojanas* by its own radiance." (*The Minor Athologies of the Pali Canon*, Part IV, Translation by J. Kennedy & H. S. Gehman, p. 76.)

4. Pl. 270¹⁹

5. Pl. 94a⁴⁷

6. See Pl. 262²⁵, Pl. 393¹⁹, 52, Pl. 395¹⁹

7. Pl. 156¹⁰

8. Pl. 224^{14,16}

monastery needed them.¹ Thus, there were some donors who thought it necessary to leave behind certain instructions to effect repairs at their buildings whenever necessary. Some went further and dedicated skilful artisans to the monastery so that they were permanently employed to look after the building. Perhaps the most effective provision for repairs was to put a curse on the monks if they neglected it. Another type of building given to the monks was called *simā*—the ordination hall.

Sim is the old Burmese word for *Sīmā*—the ordination hall. In a Mon inscription of probably the early 12th century, a Mon *mahāthera* in Kyaukse district is mentioned as the founder of *baddhasīmā*—a permanent ordination hall.² But the earliest mention of it in Burmese is in an inscription dated A.D. 1212. It runs:

||Turañ toñ thak Cawrahan sim pyāk kha rakā Moñma Nhutchak amay/Ui, Pan
Ū Sañ cākhipuih/iy 2 krā rakā/purhā loñ mañ Ūcinā mañkrī rhuy toñ tāk e, (1)
nhac so krā rakā/mañkrī plu ciy hū rakā/iy sim chok su kā Sakarac 574/khu
Kratuik nhac Namyun la chan 12 Tannhañkuniy niy Amruitta Sui Siñkhā lak akhā
||nam nāk ta pahui, ā chok sate/iy sim kōk samui sakā/mon chārryā Dhammasiri
samui sate/lup re so kā Mittrabicañ 1 Pokpo Ramam 1 Asak Lhwat 1 Pisūkā Nā
Khyam Sani 1||⁴

As the *simā* of Cawrahan on Mt. Turañ fell into ruin, concubine Nhutchak and mother Ui, Pan Ū Sañ, the chief clerk, these two heard of it. One year after the great king Ūcinā (*Nātoñmyā*) the *Boddisattva* had ascended the golden mountain, the great king commanded (the above two) to do the repairs. The building started at the first stroke (of the clock) in the morning when the *lagna* was in Leo of the *amruitta* cut on Sunday, 13 May 1212. The person who put the stone (boundary pillars) was the Reverend Dhammasiri, the teacher of the king. The persons who built it were Mittrabicañ, Pokpo Ramam, Asak Lhwat and the architect Nā Khyam Sani.

The consecration of a *simā* and putting the limits to it required a ceremonial as prescribed in the second *Khandhuka* of the *Mahāvagga*, *Vinayapiṭaka*.⁴ Unfortunately, nothing of this is mentioned in the inscriptions. *Sim* is also a place where the monks meet twice a month to do the *uposatha* ceremony and once a year after the Lent to do the *pavāraṇā* ceremony which is in short meetings where monks made declarations if they had committed an offence mentioned in the *Pātimokkha*. In an inscription dated A.D. 1388 we have a definition of *sim* as

||skhīñ sañghā tuw āpattukat ca so aphlac phriy rā sim⁵

Simā where the reverend monks make absolution for such offences like *āpatti*

In so far as the inscriptions of our period inform us, we know that *sim*⁶ were built for the monks though not as frequently as the monasteries and a senior monk like the king's teacher

1. Pl. 261^{7.8}, 24.5

2. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 70-3

3. Pl. 361.15

4. See I. B. Horner: *The Book of Discipline*, IV, pp. 137-8. See also Taw Sein Ko. *The Kalyāṇī Inscription*, pp. ii-iv for the modern ceremony.

5. Pl. 390¹⁴

6. Pl. 36⁶, Pl. 205⁴, Pl. 214^{a2}, Pl. 264¹⁴, Pl. 276^{b5}, 5, Pl. 280^{b4}, Pl. 370¹, Pl. 390¹⁴, Pl. 579² and old Mon XI⁸ (*Ep. Birm.*, III, i, pp. 70-3.)

would be called upon to put the limits to the *sim*. Land,¹ slaves² and palmyra palms³ were also dedicated to the *sim* in as much the same way as they were dedicated to a *pagoda* or a *monastery*. It was also the building where monks confessed and sought absolution. Perhaps it will not be out of place here to mention other buildings that the people built for their monks in those days. When building monasteries some donors made it a point to build also a *kappiyakuṭi*⁴—storehouse attached to the monastery. It was defined as *alhū paccañ thā cim so ñhā kappiyakuṭiy*—the storehouse for keeping the gifts received. As the monasteries owned land, cattle and toddy palms, these store houses were also used probably to store butter and jaggery. We have mentioned before that some monasteries had separate store houses for clarified butter. Some donors dug wells and made reservoirs in the monastic compound.⁵ The following extract from an inscription dated A.D. 1223 gives a good example of it.

// *skhīn ariya tuw, riy khyam sā cim, so ñha ut-ti phway, so riy twan le tū e, / ut-ti phway, so 4 thoñ, kām le tū e, / arhiy plañ kā kankrī le 2 chañ tū e, / riy wan cim, so ñhā phwan nham, talā le atañ atāy plu e, / riy kām apā wankyañ kā uyan le cuik e, /*⁶

In order that the lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also dug. To the east a large tank also was dug, with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and basins also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was planted.

In the same monastic compound, some donors built *cārap*⁷—almshouses, *tanchōñ*⁸—rest houses and *satañ tañkup*⁹—sheds to be used on sabbath days for the lay devotees who frequented the monasteries. Thus we have a rough idea of what a monastic establishment contains. There is the house for the chief monk, houses for his follower monks with lecture halls for the monk students, rest houses for the lay devotees, store houses, wells and tanks within the same compound. We will now consider the ceremonies made in connection with the dedications—the ceremony where the transfer of property from the hands of the donor into the hands of the monk was effected.

The following extract where a donor gave away a certain portion of his property to the Religion, gives a fairly good example of the period. In A.D. 1207 *Nātoñmyā* (four years before his accession to the throne) copied a set of *Tipiṭaka*, built a monastery and dedicated 1050 palmyra palms and 10,000 *pay* of land to that monastery and the ceremony of this dedication is recorded as:

// *ceñ kharā tī ruiy puiwpa amatryā rahan saghā nham akwa re cañ taw khla e' / krā pā so mañsā amat satthe sūkrwai tuw sañ leñ anumotanā khaw pā kun e' /*¹⁰

1. Pl. 70⁹, Pl. 113⁵, Pl. 126b⁴, Pl. 134a^{15, 18, 20, 24}, Pl. 222a¹⁰, Pl. 248³, Pl. 264^{2, 12}, Pl. 265^{43, 44}, Pl. 287a^{2, 10}, Pl. 370^{6, 18}, Pl. 380^{21, 22, 23, 27, 29}, Pl. 575⁴.

2. Pl. 134b¹⁵, Pl. 190b⁵, Pl. 212¹⁶.

3. Pl. 202¹⁰.

4. Pl. 73²⁷, Pl. 234¹⁰, Pl. 247¹².

5. Pl. 153a⁵, Pl. 249²⁴, Pl. 303⁴.

6. Pl. 73^{22, 5}.

7. Pl. 213a¹⁶, Pl. 242^{22, 22}, Pl. 303⁵, Pl. 372⁴¹, Pl. 428¹⁰.

8. Pl. 73²⁵, etc.

9. Pl. 372⁵, 40.

10. Pl. 31^{18, 21}.

The drums and the fifes are played and together with the retinue, the ministers and the venerable monks, the royal water of purity was poured. All those princes, ministers, and the rich people who heard and knew it called (aloud) the *anumodanā*.

In the case of common folk, the crowd that gathered for such an occasion would be different, that is to say there would be no courtiers but the process would be very much the same. Inscriptions often give lists of witnesses to these occasions; they always begin with the names of the monks according to seniority, then the village notables and lastly the villagers. Needless to say, the monks always must be there to receive the dedication and to recite the *paritta* in order to solemnize the occasion. Pouring the water onto the ground to mark the end of dedication was the general practice and we notice one instance where the water jug used then was broken when the ceremony was over². In another instance when pouring water, the donors invoked the Great Earth to witness their good act.³ *Kankasū's* wife in A.D. 1242 said:

*mily krī Asuntariy lhyāṇ saksiy mū lat ruy alhū riy swān e, ||*⁴

I poured the water of dedication calling upon the Great Earth *Asuntariy* to bear witness.

This is the only reference to *Vasundharā* in the old Burmese inscriptions that we have seen and therefore it may possibly be said that calling upon her to bear witness as *Gotoma* did when *Māra* attacked him, is exceptional⁵. This leads us to question² - what did they pray for after these dedications.⁶

All the donors prayed for *nirvana* although we have observed before that only the very ambitious wanted to become Buddhas before the attainment of *nirvana*. *Nirvana* as understood by some of them is slightly different from that described in the scriptures and the monks who taught them the elements of Buddhism should be held responsible for it. *Nirvana* means annihilation and the end but some of the old Burmans took it as a place of great peace and enjoyment. The typical phrase would be "May I reach *nipbbaṇ praṇ*⁷ - the city of *nirvana*" or *nirvana* would be defined as *nibbaṇ maṇ so ma siy praṇ*⁸ - the city of no death called *nirvana*. But this is not universal. There were also those who recognised *nirvana* as annihilation because they used such phrases as *rup naṁ khlup rā*⁹ - the annihilation of body and soul; *amuik amyak raṁ mak kun ruy*¹⁰ - the end of stupidity, anger, and greed; and *saṁsāra achum*¹¹ - the end of *samsāra*. Perhaps, these various ideas on *nirvana* were due to the different ways that the monks preached. Some would mention *nirvana* as some form

1. Pl. 10a⁷, Pl. 200¹²⁻¹⁴, Pl. 266a¹¹

2. Pl. 270⁵

3. Pl. 284a¹²

4. Pl. 145⁹

5. For the strange legend of the Goddess peculiar to South East Asia, see C. Duroiselle: "Wathundaye, the Earth Goddess of Burma", *ASI*, 1921-2, pp. 144-6.

6. See also G.H. Luce: "Prayers of Ancient Burma", *JBRIS*, XXVI, iii, pp. 131-8

7. Pl. 124, Pl. 73², Pl. 143a²⁹, Pl. 184¹⁷, Pl. 194⁵, Pl. 196²², Pl. 202²⁶, Pl. 206⁷, Pl. 235¹⁴, Pl. 236b², Pl. 275¹⁴

8. Pl. 202²⁶ Pl. 206⁷

9. Pl. 692⁷

10. Pl. 233¹⁵

11. Pl. 117b⁵

of prosperity such as one would enjoy in the world of men or *deva* as *lū cañcim nat cañcim nirabban cañcim*¹ - the enjoyments of mankind, the enjoyments of *devolaka* and the enjoyments of *nirvana*. To attain this very great reward, the people believed that nothing was too great to sacrifice in support of the Religion and due to these good acts there are many pagodas, monasteries and other buildings in Burma. There were many important personalities among the monks of our period which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The great *Thilashin* (Thilashin) died in A.D. 1037 simply because he wanted a few of the sons of *Thilashin* which *Thilashin* desired him the King of *Thilashin* had. According to the traditions of our period, he was the king's teacher throughout the reign of *Thilashin*. The great *Thilashin* (Thilashin) mentions that the king had a son, *Thilashin* as an officer. It is said:

A Lord *Thilashin*, who possesses virtue, who is the character of the Law, King *Thilashin* (Thilashin) will make (his) right hand and left hand (his) right hand and left hand. In the presence of the Lord *Thilashin*, (Thilashin) will make (his) right hand and left hand. The character of the Law (Thilashin) will say (and will I) (Thilashin) of the Lord *Thilashin* (Thilashin) will say.

The palace (Thilashin) (Thilashin) of King *Thilashin* (Thilashin) who had a following of 4100 monks. It is possible that this *Thilashin* was the same as the *Thilashin* of the *Thilashin*. Through the influence of Prince *Thilashin*, the king made a draft bill (Thilashin) (Thilashin) and a draft bill and six other (Thilashin) of the Order were present in (Thilashin) (Thilashin) was not (Thilashin) he would have been (Thilashin) seven years old (Thilashin). The (Thilashin) maintain that he died after (Thilashin) (Thilashin) a (Thilashin) (Thilashin) but unfortunately we cannot fix the date for A.D. 1037 (Thilashin).

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SANGHĀ (Continued)

Of the important personalities among the monks of our period, the foremost is the *Mahāthera Arahan* who was reputed to have introduced the pure form of Buddhism into Upper Burma.¹ We do not know how much truth there is in the statement that he brought *Theravāda Buddhism* to Pagan nor how great was his influence over *Aniruddha*, who eventually conquered Lower Burma in A.D. 1057 simply because he wanted a few of the thirty sets of *Tipiṭaka* which *Arahan* assured him the King of Thaton had. According to the inscriptions of our period, he was the king's teacher throughout the reign of Thiluin Mañ. The great Shwezigon inscription² mentions that the king had a *mahāthera* as an adviser. It said:

A Lord Mahāther, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer, of the Law, King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja shall make (his right-hand man), shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahāther, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, 'Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha', thus shall King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja say.³

The palace inscription identifies this *mahāthera* of King Thiluin Mañ as *Arahan*⁴ who had a following of 4108 monks. It is possible that this *Arahan* was the same as the Shin Arahan of the Chronicles. Through the initiative of Prince *Rājakumār*, the king made a death-bed gift⁵ in about A.D. 1113 and a *mahāthera* and six other dignitaries of the Order were present to witness it.⁶ If this *mahāthera* was our *Arahan* he would have been over seventy seven years old then.⁷ The chronicles maintain that he died after *Cañsū I* had suppressed a rebellion at Tenasserim but unfortunately we cannot fix the date for it.⁸ Anyhow it is certain

1. *Hmannan* paras. 131 & 133

2. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, Old Mon Inscription I

3. *Ibid.*, I B42-7

4. *Ibid.*, III, i, XI A 6, 25, 35, 45, 45, D44, G21, 35, 41, 45

5. A death-bed gift in modern Burma is considered void. See O.H. Mootham: *Burmese Buddhist Law* (Oxford 1939), pp. 70, 135 and Sisir Chandra Lahiri: *Principles of Modern Burmese Buddhist Law* (Rangoon, 1930), pp. 248-53.

6. *Ep. Birm.* I, i, the *Rājakumār* inscription, Burmese text, lines 23-6

7. If we take A.D. 1056 as the year of his arrival at Pagan he would have been there for fifty seven years in A.D. 1113 and as no monk could be ordained under twenty, he was at least seventy seven years old then.

8. *Hmannan* para 141. How Dr. N. Ray reaches the conclusion that *Arahan* died in about A.D. 1115 at the ripe age of eighty is a puzzle. (N. Ray: *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, p. 106). The reference he gives is no where to be found. Perhaps he takes the hint from Mr C. Duroiselle who says that in List 227 inscription it is mentioned that "Narapatisithu, otherwise known as Alaungsithu, who ascended the throne in 1112, urged one of his ministers to build (the Nandamaññā) temple and the monastery close by; and that he, the king, sent Shin Arahan, the Talaing apostle of Pagan to Tenasserim to collect relics to be enshrined in the new temple. Mr C. Duroiselle comments on this as follows: "Now, Shin Arahan began his work of evangelization in 1057; supposing him to have then been, at the lowest estimate, twenty years of age, he would, at that date of accession of Alaungsithu (1112), have been already seventy-five. So his mission to Tenasserim, an arduous journey at that time, cannot have been long after that. Hence the foundation of the Nandamaññā can be placed somewhere between 1112 and 1130 at the latest, allowing the venerable monk a span of life of about ninety-five years." Unfortunately the inscription quoted is dated A.D. 1248 and it clearly mentions that the mission under *Arahan* to Tenasserim was sent soon after 1248. Narapatisithu cannot be identified with Alaungsithu (*Cañsū I*) as many kings of Pagan were mentioned by that name in inscriptions and therefore it is highly objectionable to connect the *Arahan* of this inscription with our *Arahan* because even if he lived a very long life, we cannot expect him to live for over two hundred years. Nor can we deduce from that inscription that the *Nandamaññā* was built between A.D. 1112-30 although it was found near that pagoda. Even if we venture to attach the stone to the pagoda, all we can say is that the pagoda might have been built after A.D. 1248.

that one *mahāthera* called *Arahan* was the king's teacher during the reign of *Thiluin Mañ*. But we know nothing about him from the preceding reign except for the story in the chronicles that it was he who brought the pure form of Buddhism to Pagan in *Aniruddha's* time and that he died during *Caṅsū I's* reign after that monarch had subdued the *Tenasserim* rebellion. According to the *Mhannan: Rājawan*, the king appointed the elder son of *Cin:ñak Mañ* to succeed *Arahan* as *Sāsanāpuñ* – the chief of the Religion.¹ Is the office of *Sāsanāpuñ* of our period the same as that of the Konbaung dynasty?²

In order to find out whether the office of *Sāsanāpuñ* or any other office similar to it existed we must scrutinise all mention of *mahāthera*, *saṅghāthera* and *thera* in our inscriptions because there is no mention of *sāsanāpuñ* in all the available inscriptions of our period, although the *Mhannan Rājawan* asserts that *Caṅsū I* appointed an elder as *Sāsanāpuñ* to succeed *Arahan*. Undoubtedly there were *mañchāryā*³ or *rājaguru*⁴ – the teachers of the king but to be the king's teacher does not necessarily mean that such an elder was the head of the Order as *Sāsanāpuñ* was understood during the Konbaung dynasty. We find that the king's teacher would sometimes be addressed as *mahāthera*,⁵ *thera*⁶ or *skhin*⁷ but in matters of discipline among the Order, any elder well versed in the *Vinayapitaka* would be approached to intervene even though the king might have greatly desired that his teacher alone should have the final say. Even in the time of the Konbaung kings, some *thera* ridiculed the idea of appointing a *Sāsanāpuñ* or a commission of eight *Sudhammā Charātoau* to have jurisdiction in cases under *vinaya*.⁸ Although the king meant well, the monks did not need a king's sanction to enforce *vinaya* among themselves as it was by consent that they kept it.⁹ As mentioned above the King's teacher would be called a *mahāthera* but not all the *mahāthera* were king's teachers nor was there only one *mahāthera* or royal preceptor at a time. An old Mon inscription believed to be of *Thiluin Mañ's* reign mentions the existence of two *mahāthera*, one at Pagan and another at *Klok Sayoñ* and the latter informed the former of his good deeds done at his place of residence.¹⁰ In one instance the term *mahāthera* was applied to all the elders who lived in a monastery.¹¹ An inscription dated A.D. 1242 mentions two *mahāthera* and they were differentiated by the locality wherein they lived as *Muchuiwpuw Mahāthi* and *Cañlhan Mahāthi*.¹² In a list of witnesses to a dedication made by *Na Tuñ Pañ*

1. *Hmannan* para. 141; *GPC.* p. 119

2. See note on Primate in G.E. Harvey: *History of Burma*, p. 326 and *Burma Under British Rule*, pp. 25-9.

3. Pl. 36¹⁰, Pl. 83¹⁸, Pl. 85², Pl. 139⁵, 24, Pl. 182a², Pl. 182b²¹, Pl. 191a⁹, 8, Pl. 261⁵¹, 54, Pl. 297²⁴, Pl. 378b⁶, 10, Pl. 581a¹⁷

4. Pl. 3¹, Pl. 63², Pl. 191a⁸, Pl. 245a⁷, Pl. 272¹⁵, Pl. 274¹⁰, Pl. 279²⁰, Pl. 299⁶

5. Pl. 63², Pl. 139⁵, 24, Pl. 245a⁷, Pl. 261⁵¹, 54

6. Pl. 297²⁴, 27

7. Pl. 36¹⁰, Pl. 83¹⁸, Pl. 139⁵, 24, Pl. 182a², Pl. 261⁵¹, 54, Pl. 272¹⁵

8. See Ū: Sin: *Upamāsamūhagīrakkama Kyam*: I, pp. 259-74

9. At the end of the ordination service the ordinand was instructed in the rudiments of the *vinaya* by the chairman of the assembly and an *upajjhāya*—tutor, was appointed to teach him the details later.

10. *Ep. Birm.* III, i. XI

11. Pl. 19a²⁰

12. Pl. 149¹⁰

Saṇ and wife in A.D. 1258 we find two monks who were both referred to as the king's teacher. As a general rule these lists give the names in order of importance and it is interesting to note that these two teachers of the king are preceded by a mahāthera. The list is as follows:

//krā pā sakā mlat so Mahāthi Uttamamati 1 yok//mañ chryā Dhammārāc 1 yok//
mañ chryā Pawaradhammārā jaguru 1 yok//Skhiñ Lhakanakkabram Chryā 1 yok//
Skhiñ Na Surim Sañ Chryā 1 yok//Bīdarāc 1 yok//Kantasmīn 1 yok//Sukhamuñ
Moggālān 1 yok//sukrywai Na Tuñ Bañ Sañ sã Na Pañḍit 1 yok//ñi Na Pa Nay
1 yok//Na Can Sañ 1 yok//i mhya so skhiñ takā tui, kã ariy aram yũ ciy sate//
saksiy le phlac ciy sate//¹

Those who hear (and see this act of merit) are the Reverend Mahāthera Uttamamati, King's Teacher Dhammārāc, King's Teacher Pawaradhammārā jaguru, Teacher of Lord Lhakanakkabram, Teacher of Lord Na Surim Sañ, Bīdarāc, Kantasmīn, Moggālān the Wise, Na Pañḍit son of Na Tuñ Bañ Sañ the Rich, younger brother Na Pa Nay and Na Can Sañ. May these reverend lords take care of (my dedications). May they also bear witness to (my good deeds).

It was the same with the saṅghāthera² and the thera³ who were mostly heads of monasteries but they did not possess any official status as in a hierarchy. Thus, there were many mahāthera, saṅghāthera, thera and rājaguru at any one time and none of them had the same status as the Sāsanapuiñ in later days. We have seen above⁴ that in disputes where both parties were not exclusively monks, the verdict of the lay court prevailed although a senior monk may express his view before the final judgement. But for cases which purely concerned the monks, an expert in the Vinayapitaka would be approached. A monk who is versed in the Vinayapitaka is popularly known as Vinayadhara or in its burmanised form as Wineñdhur. There was one Wineñdhur whose name appeared fairly frequently in the inscriptions of the 13th century.

It seems that the Reverend Wineñdhur was the head of a great monastic establishment and had a great following. Members of the royal family and ministers were among his lay devotees. Asaṅkhyā the great minister of King Nātoṇmyā was one of them. He received from the king 700 pay of land as a reward for quelling a rebellion that broke out soon after the king's accession in A.D. 1211. From the 700 pay Asaṅkhyā gave 150 pay to the monastery of Skhiñ Wineñdhur in A.D. 1216.⁵ This is the first mention we find of this reverend monk in the inscriptions of our period. Next he was mentioned as one of the witnesses to the dedication of 200 pay of land made by Lakkhanā Lakway, the hero of the Takon battle in A.D. 1228.⁶ A queen, probably Phwā Jaw, Queen of Narasingha Uccanā, and her brother

1. Pl. 191a^{8.15}

2. Pl. 221¹, Pl. 30a⁹, Pl. 537, Pl. 60a¹², Pl. 79b⁹, Pl. 113⁵, Pl. 121b⁹, Pl. 127b⁸, Pl. 271¹⁵, 22, Pl. 280b¹², Pl. 329⁴, Pl. 373c⁶, Pl. 373d⁵, Pl. 381², 2, 3, 4, 4, 0, 8, 17, 36, Pl. 563a⁶, Pl. 5947

3. Pl. 12⁹, Pl. 29⁸, 19, Pl. 732⁰, Pl. 852⁵, Pl. 94a¹⁴, Pl. 1022⁸, Pl. 105a⁵⁴, 55, Pl. 126b⁵, etc.

4. Pl. 421b^{10.18}

5. Pl. 422, Pl. 190a¹, 8, 24, 25, 30

6. Pl. 231b⁵

Samantakumitham also known as the maternal uncle of King *Uccanā*, were also devoted to the Reverend *Wineñdhuir*. They in A.D. 1243 made a large addition of buildings to the monastery of the reverend monk, and among these new buildings were included a library, a lecture hall and twenty *cāsañ klon* – probably residential quarters for the students.¹ This fact alone shows us that the monastic establishment of *Skhiñ Wineñdhuir* was a sort of university where hundreds of young monks flocked to learn most probably the *Vinayapitaka* on which he was considered an authority. In order that the monks of the establishment might get “the four necessities” with ease, the good donors gave 384 *pay* of cultivable land, 187 slaves, a garden, one hundred cattle and an elephant.² As a seat of learning would have required many copies of the *Tipiṭaka*, extra copies were often added to the library of his monastery. An officer *Krañ Cāñ* in A.D. 1221 gave him a copy of the *Tipiṭaka*, ten slaves for the library staff and twenty *pay* of land for the maintenance of the library.³ The same inscription which records the above dedication also gives the names of two more donors who gave lands and slaves to his establishment. In 1234 *Nā Non Sañ* gave fifty *pay* of land⁴ and in 1253 *Kaṅgapikrami* gave 400 *pay* of land and ten slaves.⁵ Princess *Acaw Lat*, the wife of the minister *Jayya-saddhiy* and the half-sister of King *Uccanā* was also devoted to the reverend monk. In A.D. 1261 she built a hollow-pagoda and *Skhiñ Wineñdhuir* headed the list of the eight names mentioned as reciters of the *paritta* when relics were enshrined in that pagoda.⁶ Four hundred and thirty five *pay* of land⁷ and sixty eight slaves⁸ were also dedicated. In the light of the above evidence we come to the conclusion that *Skhiñ Wineñdhuir* was a much respected *thera* who devoted his time to learning and as his name implies, advocated orthodoxy, i.e., living strictly according to the rules of the *Vinaya*. He was already a famous *thera* with many devoted followers in A.D. 1216 and he was still a leading monk in A.D. 1261. In view of the fact that libraries, lecture halls and residential buildings for students were frequently added to his monastery and he was given lands and slaves for the maintenance of his establishment within this half century, we might credit him with being the leader of the orthodox group who tried to adhere strictly to the *Vinaya* and who maintained close contact with Ceylon. This leads us to consider in some detail the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines which is said to have begun in about A.D. 1180. Pagan's dealings with Ceylon is as follows.

As regards contact with *Sinkhuñ*⁹ or *Lankā*¹⁰ (Ceylon), we will first mention all we know about it from the inscriptions of our period. The first reference made to Ceylon was in the Dhammarājika pagoda inscription which mentions that in A.D. 1197, King *Caṅsū II* received four relics of the Lord Buddha from the king of *Sinkhuñ* who had thirty. The king enshrined

1. Pl. 1521.6

2. Pl. 15220.9

3. Pl. 2481.6

4. *Ibid* 6.10

5. *Ibid* 16.21

6. Pl. 20012

7. Pl. 20020

8. Pl. 201a7

9. Pl. 19b1, 2, Pl. 8715, Pl. 223a8, 12, Pl. 25029, Pl. 26520, Pl. 3739, 16, 18, Pl. 39055, Pl. 431a7

10. Pl. 2261, Pl. 3028, 14, 15, 16

them the next year in the Dhammarājika pagoda at West Pwazaw, Pagan.¹ As we have seen above Burma and Ceylon had had peaceful relations since the time of Aniruddha though they were broken off for a short while probably during the time of Imtaw Syan (71162-5). He was also known as Kalakya – the king who fell at the hands of the Indians. His assassins came from Ceylon. Nevertheless, King Caṅsū II must have successfully reestablished friendly relations with Ceylon as the gift of relics evidently bears witness to that effect. The Kalyāṇi inscription (1480) gives an account of a mission from Pagan to Ceylon in A.D. 1170.² The leader of the mission was said to be the king's teacher. Although it is not a contemporary account, it supports the statement that King Caṅsū II tried to open relations with Ceylon and that he was successful. It also seems quite reasonable to think that the king's motives were largely religious in this affair. As we have seen above, there was Sikhā Wineṇḍhuir with a large following at Pagan who advocated orthodoxy and purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Naturally these orthodox monks must have persuaded the king to send students to study in Ceylon and to invite Sinhalese teachers to come over and reside in Pagan. The Kalyāṇi inscription mentions that a monk named Chapaṭa studied in Ceylon for ten years and came back to Pagan in A.D. 1180 with four learned Sinhalese monks.³ This is not impossible. An inscription dated A.D. 1233 mentions the presence of a teacher from Ceylon called Buddharamsi⁴ who was then the head of a monastic establishment to which the donor gave land and slaves. Another inscription dated A.D. 1248 mentions educational mission to Ceylon probably between 1237 and 1248⁵ under the leadership of Dhammasiri and Subhāṭicanda.⁶ In an inscription dated A.D. 1268, a donor claimed that his deeds of merit were witnessed by all the Sinhalese monks.⁷ This evidently shows that not only teachers but also a considerable number of monks from Ceylon were settled in Central Burma. Arī Caw in A.D. 1274 narrated the story of the coming of Buddhism which shows good relationship with Ceylon and the people of Pagan were well acquainted with the Sinhalese chronicle Mahāvamsa.⁸ In A.D. 1278, Dipankarā sent from Ceylon relics of the Lord to Reverend Tāmalin⁹ who was the head of a big monastery supported by such important persons as Queen Sumimlula's daughter Princess Acau and her uncle Lord Singasū. Probably he was also a teacher who came from Ceylon. He was one of the popular ghera of King Tarukpiliy's reign. Thus briefly relations with Ceylon began with the reign of Aniruddha, were interrupted for short period during Imtaw Syan's reign and were reestablished from Caṅsū II's time until the fall of the dynasty. During this second

1. Pl. 196¹⁻²

2. T.S.Ko: *The Kalyāṇi Inscription*, pp. 50-2; *Ep. Birm.*, III, ii, p. 188, n.5. *Hmannan* (para. 143, GPC.p.142) dates this mission in A.D. 1180.

3. The four were Sivali, Tamalinda, Ananda and Rāhula.

4. Pl. 373b⁹, 18, 19

5. The date of the mission is uncertain. But as these two monks were very popular at Pagan as Dhammasiri was maṇchāryā – the teacher of the king (Pl.36¹¹) and maḥāthera (Pl.297¹²), their names appeared frequently in the list of witnesses to dedications made at Pagan; and the name Dhammasiri being absent from the inscriptions after A.D. 1237 until A.D. 1248 suggests that he was abroad. Thus tentatively this mission to Ceylon is dated between 1237 and 1248.

6. Pl. 302

7. Pl. 233a⁸

8. Pl. 250²⁰

9. Pl. 265²⁰ (See also Pl. 227²¹, Pl. 266a⁵, Pl. 266b¹⁵, 50, 59, 45)

period religious missions were sent to Ceylon from Pagan which were most probably of the same nature as the mission of A.D. 1476 sent by King Dhammaceti of Pegu. Chronicles mention a mission from Pagan in A.D. 1170. In the inscriptions we find mention of a mission sent between 1237 and 1248 under the leadership of the King's Teacher *Dhammasiri* and *Subhūticanda*. Probably such missions took with them young monks to remain in Ceylon for study and brought back some learned *thera* from Ceylon to reside at Pagan. As a result, the monks educated in Ceylon, monks who received education from Sinhalese *thera* at Pagan and *thera* of Pagan who agreed with the Sinhalese advocated purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that there was also another group of monks who were not so eager for reforms. They were known as 'forest-dwellers'.

Monks of the *taw kloṇ* – forest monasteries, belonged to the group who were not so eager for reforms, or in other words who allowed certain lapses in the observance of the *Vinaya*. The *Vinaya* requires these *Āraṇṇavāsi* to observe three restrictions, viz., that a forest dweller must enter a village "properly clad"; that he must keep in his abode drinking water, fire, firewood and walking staff; that he must learn the positions of the lunar mansions and must become skilled in the quarters (i.e. in the four parts of the day).¹ As the practice of *āraṇṇakaṅgam* is one of the thirteen *Dhutaṅgam*, it is not a compulsory practice for all the monks, but it seems that from the time of *Nātoṇṇyā* until the fall of the empire, this practice became very popular so that many donors began to build *taw kloṇ*² or *araṇṇavāsi taau kloṇ*³ and the dwellers in such places became almost a different sect of the Order. Originally a monk went out alone into the forest withdrawing himself from the communal life of the monks in a monastery to practice *āraṇṇakaṅgam* but this original idea of a lonely monk as a forest recluse was much modified. Big monastic establishments called *taw kloṇ* appeared with hundreds of monks living in them under *taw mlat krī*⁴ – the Most Reverend Lords of the Forest. In an inscription dated A.D. 1216, a queen's mother built a forest monastery at the Reverend *Yaṇṭaw*'s establishment and dedicated seventy *pay* of Land and twenty slaves.⁵ *Rājamahānākalapati* built a hollow pagoda at the forest monastery to the east of *Prasatā* (at Minnanthu) in A.D. 1233.⁶ *Jeyyapwat* established a forest monastery (at Pwazaw) in A.D. and dedicated a large number of Burmese slaves⁷ and in the next year he again dedicated 750 *pay* of land.⁸ We have seen how the monks had protested and won against King *Kīacwā* when he took the above lands as a sequel to his confiscation of religious lands after his accession. Minnanthu⁹ and Pwazaw¹⁰ to the east of Pagan and Myinmu¹¹ and Anein¹² in *Monywa* district were the centres of these forest monasteries. They were not confined to the *monywa* areas alone. Some of them appeared even in the capital city of Pagan.¹³ As mentioned

1. *Vinaya Culavagga* VIII, I.B. Horner: *The Book of Discipline* V, p. 305

2. Pl. 44a⁵, Pl. 682, Pl. 891¹⁵⁵, Pl. 90, 15, 17, 18, 25, 28, Pl. 1231⁵, 16, Pl. 132a², Pl. 140a², Pl. 143a⁷, Pl. 143b⁵, Pl. 1451⁰, 25, Pl. 147a⁶, Pl. 147b⁷, Pl. 153b⁴, 8, Pl. 160b²⁵, Pl. 1631⁵, 15, Pl. 215a⁵, Pl. 226⁷, Pl. 2461⁵, Pl. 2681⁶, Pl. 2962, Pl. 2972⁵, 52, Pl. 41722, Pl. 567a¹, Pl. 582a²

3. Pl. 465c⁵

4. Pl. 2081⁷, Pl. 223a⁸

5. Pl. 44a⁵, 12

6. Pl. 682

7. Pl. 891

8. Pl. 901², 14

9. Pl. 682, Pl. 132a² (*Carupha*), Pl. 1631⁵ (*Krak Añ*). This Minnanthu is the same as *Sacmat* or *Thanañti*, the stronghold of the *Ari* mentioned in the chronicles.

10. Pl. 89, Pl. 90

11. Pl. 1231⁶

12. Pl. 296, Pl. 297

13. Pl. 163

above, we find that these so-called forest-dwellers were not practising *ārāṇṇakāṇṇam* as their name suggests. They lived in big monasteries and had big estates in support of their establishments. The way they enlarged their estates and their connivance at the drinking of intoxicants were by no means in keeping with the *Vinaya*.

The forest monasteries, like other monasteries received enormous gifts of land from lay devotees, but they added to it by purchase. An inscription¹ dated A.D. 1248 gives a series of such purchases for the forest monastery of *Mahākassapa*. In A.D. 1242, 330 *pay* at *Riruiruiri* were purchased in A.D. 1242 for 700 ticals of silver, i.e. a little over two ticals per *pay*.² Eightynine *pay* at *Saṇṭon* and fifty five *pay* at *Mlaesa* (both in Kyaukse district) were bought at fifteen ticals of silver per *pay* in A.D. 1244. Two years later, 3332 *pay* at *Thipesyan* (Shwebo district) belonging to the *Saw Kantū* people were bought at a tical per *pay*. Another 1010 *pay* from the same people were also bought at the same price. A hundred viss of copper was the price for another 500 *pay*. In A.D. 1248, 1000 *pay* at *Plonpla* were bought at two ticals per *pay*. This inscription also records that the monastery received many more thousands of *pay* from various donors. When the Reverend *Cantimā* bought some land (the exact acreage is not given) in A.D. 1249 the price was:

*khwak 50 nwa lā te phag sū nwa ta khu/se khunhae lumulawa: phyañ nā dhañ lhwam sate!*³

fifty (viss of) copper, (only) one (from a pair of) yoke bullocks, one ox (for) beef, seven pots of liquor and five pieces of cloth.

It seems that both parties to the transaction or at least the buyers of the land sat down to a feast when the business was over. The feast for which one whole ox and seven pots of liquor were reserved must have been a fairly big one. Probably the feast was in proportion to the importance of the transaction; because when two monks of *Mahākassapa's* establishment bought fifty *pay* of land, they spent only five and a half viss of copper for *sīy phuiw sū phuiw*⁴ – the price of liquor and the price of meat. This practise of feasting at the end of a transaction became popular from the middle of the 13th century onwards. It became increasingly so after the fall of Pagan until about A.D. 1500.⁵ For example, in A.D. 1269 when *Naradaṇṇa* bought lands from *Pyamkla Nā Luñ Sañ*, *Gaṇasiddhi* and *Nā Yañ Sañ* it was recorded at the end of the transaction as:

|| *ī suiw Pyamkla tuiw kuiw mliw phuiw piy so akha le sampyun lalam sū khapan sa tuiw kuiw lhyañ asi amrañ hū ruy ut talā kan pinā thak nēn lē sui 1 koñ sīy uñw khak 10 cā sok piy e, || thuiw thaw akhā cā sok sū sū lā Prañ Khwañ 1 yok || Nā Cantī 1 yok || Nā Cantī sū Nā Khan Pha 1 yok || Nā Kram Sañ sū akri añai cūm Saw akri añai alam hi kun, e)||*⁶

When *Pyamkla* and party were given the price of the land, all the hearing and seeing (i.e. witnessing) *sampyun* and *lalam* (were given a feast) by the side of the brick trough of the reservoir where a gelded bull and ten pots of liquor were eaten and drunk. Among those who ate and drunk were present *Prañ Khwañ*, *Nā Cantī*, *Nā Khan Pha* son of *Nā Cantī*, both elder and younger sons of *Nā Kram Sañ* and all *Saw* old and young.

1. Pl. 162-3

2. Prices of land in *kharuñ* areas, i.e. in Kyaukse district, were as high as 20 ticals of silver or 8 viss of copper per *pay*. In *tuik* areas, i.e. outlying districts like Shwebo and Chindwin the price was as low as 1 tical of silver or $\frac{1}{2}$ a viss of copper per *pay*. The average was about 8 to 10 ticals of silver or 2 to 3 viss of copper per *pay*.

3. Pl. 380^{6.7}

4. Pl. 224^{10.11}

5. See Than Tun: "Mahākassapa and his Tradition", *JRS*, XLII, ii, 99-118

6. Pl. 395^{16.18}

Even when a *pay* of land was bought (in A.D. 1270), the price included a pot of liquor and money for meat.¹ In A.D. 1277, the trustees of the Minnanthu monastery dedicated by Minwaing *Phwā Jāuw*, queen-grandmother of *Tarukplyi* bought one thousand *pay* of land from the *Saw* (*Sāaw*). Expenses incurred including *thamañ phuiw siy phuiw sā phuiw* – the price of cooked rice, the price of liquor, the price of meat given in a feast to the *Sāaw* was fifty four ticals of silver.² Thus, the “forest dwellers” enlarged their estates by buying up land especially in *Shwebo* district where the prices were low. To mark the successful end of their transactions, they gave feasts where intoxicating drinks were amply served. This sort of feast became fairly widespread towards the end of the dynasty. Among these forest-dwellers the most frequently mentioned *thera* was *Mahākassapa* who perhaps was the leader of this new group in the Order.

Mahākassapa was first mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1225 when he received the dedication of land, slaves and cattle made by King *Nātoñmyā* and his sister *Mañ Lha*.³ *Mahākassapa* was then already a famous *thera* at *Myinmu* in *Monywa* district. Perhaps *Myinmu* was then the centre of these “forest-dwellers” and *Mahākassapa* was their leader on account of whose venerableness they received much support from important people of the period. *Mahākassapa*’s attempt to open a branch of his monastery at the capital city of *Pagan*, was successful because in A.D. 1233 a forest monastery was built at *Minnanthu*, and another in A.D. 1236 at *Pwazaw*, both on the eastern side of *Pagan*. By A.D. 1237, *Mahākassapa*’s name was mentioned side by side with two other prominent *thera* of the city as witnesses to a dedication by *Mahāsaman*, an important minister of the time.⁴ The two *thera* were *Dhammasiri* and *Subhāticaṇḍa* who were probably away in *Ceylon* between 1237 and 1248. As these two *thera* undoubtedly desired the purification of the Order on *Sinhalese* lines, it is most probable that they were much alarmed at the appearance of *Mahākassapa* and his new school at the capital and so hastened to *Ceylon* for inspiration and help.⁵ An inscription dated A.D. 1242 found among the old pagodas south of *Kumè* in *Kyaukse* district contains evidence of further activities of *Mahākassapa*.⁶ It said that he established a monastery there. Perhaps he was able to extend his influence to the most prosperous area of the *Pagan* empire while his two rivals were away in *Ceylon*. In the meanwhile, he was able to enlist the support of Prince *Kaṅkasū*, half brother of *Nātoñmyā*. On the death of the prince his wife added a building in memory of her beloved husband to his establishment at *Minanthu*.⁷ According to *Puil sukri* (? General) *Sattayā*’s inscription (A.D. 1244) which records the construction of a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a sitting image of the Buddha four cubits high, the *Mahākassapa* establishment was located just outside *arhiy prañ takhā* – the Eastern Gate of the City. In that establishment, the Most Reverend *Mahākassapa* used the monastery built by Princess *Mañ Lha*⁸ as his residence. It

1. Pl. 231a⁵

2. Pl. 268⁶

3. Pl. 123^{5, 6, 7, 12}

4. Pl. 102⁴

5. Pl. 302

6. Pl. 140a²

7. Pl. 143a⁶⁻⁷, Pl. 145¹⁰, Pl. 147a⁷

8. Pl. 153a²⁻⁵

9. Pl. 162²

was in that year A.D. 1244 that *Mahākassapa* had a land dispute with the *Cakraw* of the Frontier Guard at *Chipton* 2 (? on the north east of *Kyaukse* district). The land originally belonged to *Saṅkrammasū*, the grandfather of *Mahākassapa*. We have shown above that from A.D. 1248, *Mahākassapa* began to buy thousands of pay of land mostly in *Shwebo* and *Chindwin* districts. His organization was new and therefore he probably must have felt that it needed the support of a landed interest although he received many gifts of land during the years A.D. 1247-83 and A.D. 1272.4 It seems that he died between A.D. 1272 and A.D. 1278. After 1272 the name *Mahākassapa* was used only to denote his establishment5 and in 1278 there was a new *thēta* at his establishment although his name is not mentioned.6 Thus the life of *Mahākassapa* from the time when he was already a famous *thera* in the *tuik* - outlying districts of *Chindwin* in about A.D. 1225 to his growing popularity in *kharuīn* - the central districts of *Kyaukse*, *Myingyan* and *Minbu* in about A.D. 1235-40 till his death between A.D. 1272-8, clearly shows us how the forest-dwellers grew in number and popularity to such dimensions as to be considered a major force almost equal in strength to the orthodox group who at that time fervently tried to maintain their ground with help from *Ceylon*. It took two more centuries to have a clear cut answer in favour of orthodoxy. Although the evidence is meagre it is possible to connect these *āraṇṇavāsi* or forest-dwellers under *Mahākassapa* who bought land in outlying districts to strengthen their position and who accepted for themselves *yamimaka* *aphyaw*7 - a sweet liquor from palm juice, and allowed their devotees to indulge in grand feasts where liquor and meat were plentiful, with *Arañ* or *Ari* of whom the chronicles thought poorly.

We will first of all deal with the epigraphic evidence concerning *Arañ*. In an inscription dated A.D. 1213 a donor records his deeds of merit as follows:

*//sapit 100 thañ, ruy, thmañ thak plañ thañ, ruy, Arañ ā lhu e, //ñuy purhā le sañ
Arañ tuw, rhiy, khuw ciy hū ruy piy luik e, // riy twañ 1 khu thi e, // kau tū e, //
kathuīn pac e, // pañsakū achū 10 piy e, //sā rahan mū e taryā ū nā e, //*8

One hundred almsbowls filled with cooked rice full to the brim were given to the *Arañ*. A silver image of the Lord was also given to the reverend *Arañ* to worship. One well was (dug). One tank was (made). *Kathina* (robe) was given. Ten *pañsakū* (robes) were also (given). My son was ordained a monk. We listened to the First Sermon (*Dhammasakka*).

This is the earliest mention of the *Arañ* in the inscriptions and unfortunately this extract gives no information as to their beliefs and practices. Another inscription mentions that two *Arañ* called *Nā Cuik Sañ* and *Nā Cañ Sañ* quarrelled for ownership of land in A.D.

1. Pl. 1622

2. Pl. 1653-10. See also *JBRs*, XLII, i, p. 61, n. 71.

3. Pl. 163

4. Pl. 42455

5. Pl. 2032, Pl. 22412, Pl. 2772

6. Pl. 2772

7. Pl. 23314

8. Pl. 404-9

122.1 That some five *pay* of land at Myingontaing in Kyaukse district were bought with the permission of an *Arañ* who was also a judge of theft cases is recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1273.² We also find one *Arañ* to be the father of a Pagan slave in an inscription dated A.D. 1275³ and that *Arañ Picañ's* brother-in-law was a headman in Shwebo district in another inscription of A.D. 1280.⁴ This is all we know about the *Arañ*. Anyhow it supports the theory that the *Arañ* or *Arañāvāsī* *taau kloñ*⁵ monks appeared in the early decades of the 13th century in such places as Pagan and Shwebo and Kyaukse districts. Burma was not alone in having these *Arañāvāsī* monks during the 13th and 14th centuries. Inscriptions of *Rāma Gamhēn* (A.D. 1298) and *Vat Pā Tēn* (A.D. 1406) bear witness to the existence of *arañāvāsī* monks during those centuries at Sukhodaya (Siam) too.⁶

According to the chronicles, the Ari were in existence in the 10th and 11th centuries at Pagan and were non-Buddhists. Various theories have been proposed as to their origin. Some connected them with Tantric Buddhism⁷ on the strength of finding some wall paintings at Abhayratana temple (Myinpagān)⁸, Bhurāsumchū and Nandamaññā temples (Minnanthu) and held that "the character of all these paintings tallies exactly with oral tradition...about the Ari practices." Professor C. Duroiselle uses an inscription⁹ found near Nandamaññā temple to illustrate the above statement. The inscription is dated A.D. 1248 and it mentions that the monks were provided with fermented spirits and morning and evening meals. On this evidence alone we are more inclined to say that the Ari existed not in the 11th but in the 13th century. Although these Ari allowed certain lapses in the *Vinaya*, they were definitely not as debased as the chronicles allege. We find no evidence of anything unusual in their practices that the orthodox monks would not have done in those days except that they allowed some drinks at their feasts. Therefore it is very doubtful that the wall paintings mentioned above have anything to do with the Ari and "it seems unnecessary to search in India for the explanation of young Burman heresy."¹⁰ The derivation of the word Ari offers another problem. Pagan U Tin connected Ari with *ariya* and therefore is of opinion that Ari is the general name for all monks and C. Duroiselle adopted this view.¹¹ Dr Ba Han supported them.¹² Professor P. M. Tin contradicted them by connecting Ari with *āraññika* (forest-dweller).¹³ As we have noticed above, old Burmans used *ariya* in its complete form and therefore Ari is not the short form of *ariya*. It is more likely that it has been shortened from *āraññika*. But old Burmans were

1. Pl. 542 (and duplicate Pl. 371b⁷)

2. Pl. 241⁸, 6

3. Pl. 250²

4. Pl. 264⁹

5. Pl. 465a⁵

6. See G. Coedès: *Recueil de Inscriptions du Siam I, (Inscriptions de Sukhodaya)*, (Bangkok, 1924) pp. 46, 131-9. Professors G. H. Luce & P. M. Tin call attention to the point that the *Vat Pā Tēn* inscription uses *Culasakkaraja* (which is the same as the Burmans used) from 705 (A.D. 1343) to 768 (A.D. 1406) and this corrects the view taken by W. A. R. Wood in *A History of Siam*, p. 127 that *Culasakkaraja* was introduced by the Burmese after the fall of Ayutthia in 1569 and that the legend of it being 'used from time of Ramkhamheng is unworthy of serious consideration.

7. See C. Duroiselle: "The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism", *ASI*, 1915-16, pp. 79-93

8. See U Mya: "Wall Paintings of the Abeyadana Temple", *ASI*, 1930-4, pp. 181-4.

9. *Li* 277, *PPA*, 250, *TN* 114-16: see also G. E. Harvey: *Burma*, p. 60

10. G. H. Luce & P. M. Tin: "Burma Down to the Fall of Pagan", *JBR*, XXIX, iii, p. 273

11. *JBR*, X, i, pp. 28-30 & iii, pp. 158-9

12. *JBR*, X, iii, p. 160

13. *JBR*, IX, iii, pp. 155-6, X, ii, pp. 82-3

in favour of using *taw kloṇ* than *araṇ* to signify forest-dwellers. We consider that the *Ari* of the chronicles are the *araṇṇavasi* or *taw kloṇ* monks of the 13th century and therefore misplaced by the chroniclers in the 10th century. They were by no means depraved. We have followed the rise and spread of this new group of the Order through out the life of *Mahākassapa* who seems to have been their leader and possibly the founder. Another aspect of the Order which is quite different from the Order in modern Burma, is the presence of *bhikkhūnī*.

The Order in Burma to-day allows no woman in it and tradition says that this begun from A.D.456 but the inscriptions of our period yield some evidence on the strength of which it is possible to revise the above tradition. Female ascetics in the Order were called *bhikkhūnī* and we find the mention of *bhikkhūnī* among the lists of slaves in two inscriptions dated A.D.1236.¹ The only reason for their presence among the slaves must have been because they were born of of slave parents and though their masters had been kind enough to allow them to be ordained they would become slaves again if and when they left the Order. Very often, we find monks called by their lay names. If it is a *bhikkhūnī* she would in some cases be called by her lay name with a prefix *Uiw* or its variants *Uih*, *Uin*, *Uim*, *Ui* and *I*. In an inscription dated A.D. 1196 among the names of five church dignitaries as witnesses to a dedication we find the name of the Reverend *Uiw Pam* - the *bhikkhūnī* which comes second.² One inscription from Pin Sekkalampa, near Yenangyaung, Magwe district, mentions that a *Saṅghathera Uiw, Kram Saṇ* dedicated some slaves to the pagoda in A.D. 1215.³ As an elder among the monks would be addressed *phun mlat so*⁴ - the most reverend, so we find a *bhikkhūnī* addressed as *phun mlat so Uih Tan Saṇ*.⁵ There was also *phun mlat so Uiw Chi Tāw*⁶ who must have been quite a popular *bhikkhūnī*. When Princess *Acaw Lat* in A.D.1261 built a hollow pagoda and enshrined relics in it eight church dignitaries were present to recite the *paritta* and *Ui, Chi Tāw* was among them.⁷ Perhaps it was this *Ui Chi Tāw* who was mentioned in A.D.1279 as the head of a monastery where a certain land transaction was made.⁸ Such names as *Luniphani* and *Brahmacari* as two witnesses to a dedication in A.D.1266 also suggests that they were *bhikkhūnī*.⁸ Another interesting piece of evidence is that in an inscription dated A.D.1267, a female donor mentions certain lands as

ṇa pha Klacwā maṅkri ṇa kuiw rahan mū pe so akhā nhuik pe so lay/19

These lands were given to me by my father the great king *Klacwā* when he (allowed me to enter) the Order.

This donor perhaps quitted the Order and got married after which she made a series of dedications including the above lands. On the reverse face of the inscription she said: "After having painted the hollow pagoda my *lan maṅsā* - husband the Prince,

1. Pl.8927, Pl. 9214

2. Pl. 576a⁷

3. Pl. 119a2.5

4. Pl. 559a14

5. Pl. 297, 19.19. See *J BRS*, XXV, iii, pp.151-2

6. Pl. 20014

7. Pl. 26818. The phrase *ui, chi taw kloṇ* here can be interpreted either as *Ui Chi Tāw's* monastery or *Ui Chi's* forest monastery. Whatever the interpretation it seems that the monastery was under *bhikkhūnī* head.

8. Pl. 214b⁹

9. Pl. 220⁹

dedicated the following slaves."¹ This strongly suggests that the donor was a daughter of King Klacwā who was once a bhikkhuni. Thus although the tradition says that there were no bhikkhuni since A.D. 456, we have evidences of their presence even in the latter half of the 13th century. It is a pity that modern Burmans are not as liberal minded as their ancestors of Pagan.² The last important personality among the monks of our period is Syañ Disāprāmuk who went to China on a peace mission in A.D. 1275.

When we discussed the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, we mentioned that Disāprāmuk rendered his king and country important service by going over to Peking as an ambassador from Tarukpliy and successfully persuading the Great Khan to withdraw his forces from Burma. In token of gratitude the king gave him eight hundred pay of land (four hundred at Hanlan and another four hundred at Kramtū) together with slaves and cattle. All these lands, slaves and cattle, Disāprāmuk dedicated to Panpwat rap ceti—the pagoda at the Turner's Quarter (Mingalazedi). Then he built a great archway to the shrine. He also built a cāseñtuik school building, which was left unfinished, probably due to the growing political troubles of the time. But the good monk was optimistic. He said that his relatives might be able to finish it with the timber he had got from the queen and other miscellaneous gifts from various donors. As regards his mission to China, it is the first known instance of a Buddhist monk in Burma taking a serious interest in politics. The general attitude was to remain aloof from the political sphere. But as his intervention was in the name of peace, to avert unnecessary bloodshed, and to put a stop to a war, it is possible that his colleagues did not have any serious objection to his "meddling" in politics, which was not the business of a monk. His mission was a diplomatic success although short-lived, as further negotiations with China broke down on the assassination of Tarukpliy. Later kings of Burma often sent monks on peace missions, but we must remember that Disāprāmuk was one of the very first in this field.

In conclusion, we have seen that the Order in our period was divided into two camps, and that they existed side by side in peace. There were also bhikkhuni right down to the end of the empire. Of the aforesaid two camps the first was for orthodoxy and wanted the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, the second was that of the araññavasi who allowed certain lapses in the Vinaya. In spite of the first group's endeavour to counteract the growing popularity of the latter, by sending missions and study groups to Ceylon, and bringing back Sinhalese thera and monks to Pagan, we find that the araññavasi had a great deal of popular support. Perhaps it was so because they represented indigenous thought appealing direct to Burmese nationalism or perhaps their tenets were easier to follow.

1. Pl. 22127

2. See Ādiccavaṃsa: Bhikkhunīsaṃnopadesa (A Treatise on Why the Order of Bhikkhunī should be Revived.) The author was excommunicated for advocating the cause of the bhikkhunī in 1935.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

THE OLD BURMANS were zealous supporters of the Religion who spent lavishly on the construction and maintenance of various types of religious edifices. When these buildings were completed money, land, cattle and slaves were given for their support. Many interesting accounts of Pagan architecture have been written¹, so our primary concern here is to give the story of these constructions.

A suitable site was selected and the first measure was to put up *tantuin*—an enclosure wall. A donor in A.D. 1192 selected a site just beside a reservoir at *Amana* and enclosed it with *ut ti plu so tantuin*²—a wall entirely of bricks, for the construction of a big and pleasant monastery. Another donor spent 10,000 ticals of silver on building a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a wall around them³. An inscription of A.D. 1248 mentions that the wall alone cost a total of 432½ ticals of silver.⁴ It must have been a fairly large enclosure wall as the establishment contained two monasteries, a library and a hollow-pagoda with four entrances. Some of the enclosure walls were circular⁵ but usually they were rectangular or square as they are referred to as *tantuin 4 myakhā*—four sided walls, complete with *tamkhā muk*—doors and gateways.⁶ These enclosures were necessary not only to distinguish the holy place from its surroundings but also to protect the buildings from fire. A donor in A.D. 1262 called his enclosure *tantuin mikū*⁷—a fire-proof wall. Perhaps this was because he saw the whole city of Pagan burnt to ashes in A.D. 1225.⁸ Therefore when he founded an establishment he felt that it ought to have adequate protection from fire. Some donors built *tantuin nhac thap*⁹—double enclosures. The inner one was for shrines and the outer one was usually for monasteries. In one case as much as twenty houses were built for students.¹⁰ Sometimes a banyan tree grown from a seed imported from Bodh Gaya would also be enclosed by a magnificent wall.¹¹ There were also walls made of stone.¹²

1. A few of them are: G. H. Luce: "The Greater Temples of Rangoon", *BRSFAP*, II, 169-78; "The Smaller Temples of Pagan", *BRSFAP*, II, 179-90; W. B. Sinclair: "Monasteries of Pagan", *BRSFAP* II, 505-16

2. Pl. 125, Pl. 737, Pl. 1947, Pl. 2208, Pl. 2325, Pl. 2344, Pl. 2478, Pl. 24911, Pl. 3909

3. Pl. 181-5

4. Pl. 16442-45

5. Pl. 697

6. Pl. 3909, Pl. 4238

7. Pl. 2052

8. Pl. 122a2

9. Pl. 734, Pl. 1525, Pl. 1944, Pl. 2834, Pl. 39014-15

10. Pl. 1525

11. Pl. 2325

12. Pl. 39014

Within the wall *cankrami*¹ - a platform, was made. Most often it was the foundation of a hollow - or solid-pagoda although there were exceptions when it was merely a promenade adjoining a monastery. Walking seems to be the only form of physical exercise befitting a gentle monk². In A.D. 1236 when *Asawat*'s wife made a platform adjoining her monastery she enumerated the cost as follows: bricks from two kilns of 60 ticals of silver, cartage 22 ticals, bringing in the timber, probably for the roofing, 6 ticals.³ We have seven instances⁴ where it is mentioned that the platform of the hollow-pagoda was made in the shape of a *kalasa* pot. Perhaps this refers to the plinth at the base of the platform.

A *kū* was built on such a platform. The word *kū* is clearly from Pali *guha*-a cave and therefore it is a hollow-pagoda made in imitation of a natural cave. Some *kū* had four gateways and thus acquired the name of *kū 4 myaknhā*⁵. Inside a four sided *kū* there were always four images of the Lords⁶ placed back to back in the centre, representing the four Buddhas of this present *kappa*. The centre block around which the images were placed was the relic chamber where *sariradhātu*⁷ - the bodily relics, were enshrined. The walls of the *kū* would be painted either with *khlyu pan*⁸ - floral designs or *chaipū*⁹ - pictures of the Lord. In one case as many as 14619 were painted.¹⁰ Some had scenes from the *Jātaka*:¹¹ A *kū* thus painted would be known as *kū prok*¹² - variegated cave. *Athwat* - the spires of these *kū*, were usually made of copper¹³ weighing from about forty viss¹⁴ to one hundred and thirty¹⁵ and were gilded.¹⁶ Above the *athwat* there was the *thi* - umbrella, sometimes made of gold and studded with precious gems.¹⁷

Ceti is another type of pagoda but unlike the *kū* it is solid in structure. To build a *ceti* firstly a platform had to be made in much the same manner as for erecting a *kū*. One had the plinth in the form of a *kalasa* pot.¹⁸ The following extract from an inscription dated A.D. 1227 gives us a rough idea of what sort of relics were enshrined in a *Ceti*.

1. Pl. 73⁸, etc.

2. Pl. 972², Pl. 102⁸, Pl. 126b⁴, Pl. 152⁵

3. Pl. 9722³

4. Pl. 73⁵, Pl. 80⁷, Pl. 194⁷, Pl. 220⁶, Pl. 234⁶, Pl. 247⁸, Pl. 249⁸. See also Daw Mya Mu: "The Kalasa Pot", *JBRs*, XXII, ii, pp. 97-8

5. Pl. 507¹⁴

6. Pl. 27520, Pl. 423⁸, 2⁹, 4⁹

7. Pl. 17⁸, Pl. 19b2⁵, Pl. 73⁸, Pl. 78b7, Pl. 8010¹², Pl. 191b¹¹, Pl. 194⁸, Pl. 249¹⁷, Pl. 26520, Pl. 2791^{5,7}, Pl. 30821, Pl. 38117, 1⁸, 2⁹, Pl. 39010

8. Pl. 2212⁶

9. Pl. 731⁵, Pl. 801⁵, Pl. 19411¹², Pl. 238⁸, Pl. 3641⁸

10. Pl. 105a7

11. Pl. 1941⁵, Pl. 2481⁷

12. Pl. 218a1¹

13. Pl. 801⁷, Pl. 971², etc.

14. Pl. 731⁸, Pl. 801⁷

15. Pl. 1941⁵

16. Pl. 105a10, Pl. 1941⁵, Pl. 24921, etc.

17. Pl. 731²

18. Pl. 80⁸

//jetī dhāpanā so akhā kā // = // Sakarac 589 khu Māgha samiwacchuir // Plasuiw la chan 14 ryak Puttahū niy, ā // purhā skhā sariradhat taw // ñon taw akhak nahn plu so purhā // rhuy rāñ swan so purhā // ñuy rāñ swan so purhā // phan plu so purhā // chañ cway amrutiy plu so purhā // tāncikā plu so purhā // ñy mhya so dhat taw // chañpu taw khapsim so kuiw // rhuy camakhan ñuy camakhan le khāñ luik e, // rhuy thi ñuy thi le choñ luik e, // rhuy pok 2 ñuy pok 2 // rhuy tan-choñ-ñuy tanchoñ tuiw phlañ le pucaw luik e, // 1y suiw so ratonā phlañ dhapanā ruy ut nahn phway e, // phway pri so kā añkativ nahn rap nat ahi 2 saphlañ achan akray plue e, // ¹

On Wednesday 22 Dec. 1227, (the followinging) are enshrined in the *cetiya*: the bodily relics of the Lord; the image of the Lord made from the branch of the sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in silver; the image of the Lord made of crystal; the image of the Lord made of ivory bezoar; and the image of the Lord made of sandal-wood. (Underneath) all these relics and images are spread gold cushions and silver cushions and images are topped with gold umbrellas and silver umbrellas. Perched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers are also offered. When these gems are enshrined, the (relic chamber) is closed with bricks. After this wonderful and magnificent figures of *deva* and various beings are made with stucco.

Another form of pagoda is *puthuiw*.² From such information as we have from the inscriptions, it is very difficult to state the difference in shape or style between *ceti* and *puthuiw*. It was also a solid pagoda with the same form of spire as *kū*. The term *puthuiw* is also used for miniature pagodas for enshrinement, made of gold, silver, ivory, sandalwood, etc.³ We also find mention of *puthuiw ni*⁴ – the red pagoda and *puthuiw prok*⁵ – the variegated pagoda. These names imply that these pagodas were painted either in one colour or in many colours. They were not entirely white or gold as a modern pagoda.

The houses for the monks were called *kloñ* and if it was built of brick it was known as *kulā kloñ*⁶ – the Indian monastery. Most of the monasteries however were built of wood with *sac ñay muiw*⁷ – thatch roof or *mwan khoñ ta cwan*⁸ – high and grand roof. In some cases the monastery would be profusely decorated and painted so that it would be known by the name of *kloñ prok*⁹ – the variegated monastery or *panpu kloñ*¹⁰ – monastery with wood.

1. Pl. 80^{a,17}

2. Pl. 8b⁴, Pl. 9¹¹, Pl. 19a²¹, etc.

3. Pl. 308¹⁰

4. Pl. 389a⁵

5. Pl. 377b⁴

6. Pl. 64⁸, Pl. 9722, 25, 28, Pl. 132b^{14,15}, Pl. 164^{6,41,45}, Pl. 1872, Pl. 194¹⁶, Pl. 1974, 7, Pl. 198⁶, Pl. 205⁵, Pl. 2122, 14, Pl. 222a¹⁰, Pl. 234^{6,18}, Pl. 247¹⁰, Pl. 248¹⁵, Pl. 2562⁴, Pl. 265^{17,50}, Pl. 266b^{51,44}, Pl. 277¹⁰, Pl. 283⁶, Pl. 288⁵, Pl. 380¹⁶, Pl. 382⁵, Pl. 389c⁵, Pl. 395¹⁹, Pl. 4282⁸, Pl. 563a⁸, Pl. 581b⁷. For ground plans of these brick monasteries see W.B. Sinclair: "Monasteries of Pagan", *BRSFAP*, II, 505–16.

7. Pl. 4282⁸

8. Pl. 390¹². See also Pl 205⁵, Pl. 285⁵

9. Pl. 60b²

carvings. The *kulā kloñ* were usually adorned with such decorations and extension as *calac*¹ – “flame pediments” over doorways and windows, *prasat*² – multiple roofs, *chañ wañ*³ – “elephant entrance” i.e. porch, *uchak*⁴ – front extension, *tulik*⁵ (Old Mon: *dirlec*, *dirlac*) –? assembly hall and *pwat tuiñ*⁶ – polished pillars. Buildings such as *sim* (*sīma*) – the ordination hall, *piṭaka tuik* – library, *dhammasā* – preaching hall, *tanchon* – rest house, *carap* – alms house, *kappiyakuṭi* – store house, etc. were built near the monasteries.

For the details of such constructions it would not be superfluous to give a contemporary account. The establishment described below was founded by the great minister *Anantasūra* and his wife and was completed on 17 Dec. 1223.

||īy *Āmanā mañ so kñ arap nhuik-kā*||*myā cwā so than pañ ti lhyāñ kloñ aram*
cuik lat ruy, ||*ut-ti plu so tantuñ le nhac thap ram lat ruy*, ||*tantuñ twañ nhuik kā*
kalasā uiw ayoñ nhañ, tū so tañ, tuy cwā so camkram thak kū le tañ e, ||*kū dhamanā*
so akhā nhuik-kā||*sariradhat-tāw thañ, so tancikū krwac*||*thuiw apa kā phan plu so*
krwac || *thuiw apa kā tancikū nī plu so krwac* || *thuiw apa kā nuy plu so* || *thuiw*
apa kā rhuy mu ruy, ratanā ti amyak khat so || *thuiw apa kā chañ cway plu so* ||
thuiw apa kā kriy nī plu so || *thuiw apa kā klok plu so puthuiw* || *thuiw twañ thañ*
pā so || *rhuy camakhan* || *nuy camakhan* || *rhuy pok 2* || *nuy pok 2* || *rhuy tanchon*||
nuy tanchon tuiw, phlañ, pujāw ruy, thañ, huik e, || *klok puthuiw kuiw kā chiy riy*
ruy, kriy khrañ nhañ, khak e, || *athwat kā rhuy thwat plu e*, || *athwat thak-kā rhuy*
thi chok e, || *rhuy thi kuiw kā pulay santā cway e*, || *athwat ok rhuy, kā puchuiw*
7 thap lhwam e, || *puchuiw thak-kā rhuy kyaktawiy khat e*, || *rhuy 30 swan so rhuy*
purhā 1 khu || *nuy 50 swan so nuy purhā 1 khu* || *klok phlū plu ruy, rhuy rāñ riy*
so purhā 1 khu || *rhuy thi nuy thi tuiw, le choñ e*, || *thuiw suiw, so athu thū sa*
phlañ, plu ruy, dhāmanā e, || *kū twañ kā purhā skhin chañpu liymyakhā plu ruy,*
ratanā ti tok pa chan kray ciy e, || *kū aram twañ nhuik-kā myā cwā so purhā*
chañpu le plu e, || *jāt nā ryā le atañ, atay riy e*, || *kū thwat tanchā panthyan lak*
twañ khin piy ruy, khut so kriy kā 47 bisā 8 buiñ 4 klyap || *khut so yut so kriy kā*
7 bisā 9 klyap || *apri kham so kriy kā bisā 40* || *7 buiñ 5 klyap* ||
rhuy sā wañ so 39 klyap 3 mat || *pratē rañ kā 159 klyap wañ e*, || *īy suiw,*
so ratanā phlañ, kū thwat kuiw tok pa ciy e, || *piṭakat sum pum so*
tryā apum le plu e, || *tryā nā am, so parisat takā cañ wañ cim, so nhā*
klok ut-ti phway, sa sāyā cwā so dhammasā le plu e, || *tryā haw rā rhuy panlañ le*
plu e, || *panlañ thak-kā rhuy thi le chok e*, || *athak phlañ, kā pitān le chañ e*, ||
nirahan kuiw luiw so sutāw takā tuiw, chumha kham cim, so nhā skhin thera niy
rā sāyā cwā so kloñ kri le plu e, || *tantuñ tac thap so opa wankyañ kā sāsanā*
kuiw khyat ruy, stañ kyañ, so skhin ariyā tuiw, niy cim, so nā myā cwā so kloñ
le acan plu e || *skhin ariyā tuiw riy khyamā cim, so nhā ut-ti phway, so riy twañ*
le tū e, || *ut-ti phway, so 4 thoñ, kan le tū e* || *arhiy, plañ, kā kan kri le 2 chañ, tū e,*
riy wañ cim, so nhā plwan nhañ, talā le atañ, atay plu e, || *riy kñ apā wankyañ kā*
uyan le cuik e, || *thuiw kloñ apa kā liymyakhā lā lā so sutuaw takā* || *niy so* ||

1. Pl. 64⁶, Pl. 153a⁴, Pl. 164^{5,6}, Pl. 205⁵, Pl. 234^{10,16}, Pl. 246⁵, Pl. 283⁶, Pl. 285⁵, Pl. 288⁴, Pl. 307c^{5,4}

2. Pl. 85², Pl. 165b⁵, Pl. 234¹⁶, Pl. 282¹², Pl. 283^{6,16}, Pl. 285^{9,10}, Pl. 288⁴, Pl. 291⁷, Pl. 313a⁵, Pl. 382², Pl. 428⁵

3. Pl. 64⁶, Pl. 246⁵

4. Pl. 164^{6,5}, Pl. 234¹⁶ (*uthwak*), Pl. 283⁶ (*uthwak*)

5. Pl. 283⁶

6. Pl. 147a¹¹

ip so // ryap so // aluiw ra cim, so nhā // tañ, tay cwā so tantuñ twañ rup arhu
 thū sa phlañ, chan kray tha lyak so sāyā cwā so tanchon kri le plu e, // thuñw anok
 phlañ, kā alhū piy luiw so sutaw tuiw, alhū piy cim, so nhā // mray mram cwā so ut
 carap le plu e, // iy nā kloñ nhuik hiy, so // purhā tryā sañghā tuiw, khyamisa cim,
 so nhā // prañ aca nhuik kā // ut nhañ, mray mram cwā phway, so kappiyukūiy le
 plu e, // alup aklwañ le myā cwā thā piy e, // liymyaknhā lā lā so rē tuiw, riy aluiw
 ra cim, so nhā // ut nhañ, mray mram cwā phway, so riy twañ le tū e, // iy mha so
 anhaç moñ nham plu so koñmhu khapsim sa kā // sāsana anhaç 500 mlok oñ tuñ
 rac cim, so nhā // aci ariyā myā cwā plu sate // = // iy anhaç moñ nham plu so
 koñmhu khapsim so kuiw // anhaç kuiw cā akha mlañ, mlay plu phā rac cim, so
 nhā // tanlañ lhañ cim, so nhā // purhā tryā nhuik sampūt // chimī // kwam pui //
 ma prat tañ rac cim, so nhā // sañ kham so skhiñ ariyā tuiw, kuiw chwañ pui lap
 klwañ rac cim, so nhā // anhaç moñ nham lhu so // ... ¹

At this place (around) the tank called *Āmanā* (Minanthu), (we) planted many toddy palms in a monastery compound. (We) then enclosed it within two walls made of brick and within (these) walls upon a fine platform (the plinth of which) is in the shape of a *kalasā* pot, (we) constructed a hollow-pagoda. When enshrining (that) hollow-pagoda, (we) encased the relics of the Holy Body in a sandalwood casket and put it within a crystal casket, (then) a red sandalwood casket, a gold (casket), a silver (casket), a gilt and jewelled (casket), an ivory (casket), a red copper (casket) and (lastly) within a stone (miniature) pagoda. (Moreover, we) offered reverently and set therein cushions of gold, cushions of silver, parched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers. As for the stone (miniature) pagoda, it was painted and criss-crossed with copper wire. The spire was made of gold. Above the spire (we) set up a gold umbrella, hung with pearls and coral. (We) wrapped (the whole miniature pagoda) up to the spire with seven folds of cloth and on the cloth was stamped the gold seal of *Kṛakṭāñuiy*. There was a gold image of the Lord cast of thirty (ticals) of gold, a silver image of the Lord cast of fifty (ticals) of silver and a gilt image of the Lord made of marble. Over these also (we) spread gold and silver umbrellas. (We) enshrined all these various things. In the (chamber) of the hollow - pagoda, (we) made four images of the Lord placed back to back and thus each facing a cardinal point and (also) made them shine wondrously with gems. Many (more) images were placed (around) the walls. (On the walls) were beautifully painted the (scenes from) five hundred *jātaka*.² (For adorning) the spire of the hollow - pagoda with an ornament (we) weighed and cut off into the hands of the coppersmith forty seven viss, eight *buih*³ and four ticals of copper; seven viss and nine ticals were lost in (the course

1. Pl. 73⁶⁻⁵¹. See also *JBRs*, XXVI, i, pp. 55-6.

2. Later donors in their zeal white washed the walls so the paintings are now no more.

3. To-day there is no intermediary measure between tical and viss. The meaning of the word *buih* or *buiy* is unknown. According to this inscription 10 ticals made 1 *buih* and probably 10 *buih* made 1 viss as 100 ticals made 1 viss. Perhaps the word comes from *pala*. According to R.C. Temple: "Notes on the Development of Currency in the Far East" *JA*, XXVIII, 102-10, 5 ticals made 1 *bōh*.

of the work) and the net (weight of the spire) was forty viss, seven buiy and five ticals. The amount of sterling gold included was thirty nine ticals and three quarters and of liquid quick silver one hundred and fifty nine ticals. With all these precious things (we) caused the spire of the hollow - pagoda to shine. (We) also made (a copy) of the Three *Pitakā* - the accumulation of the Law. Where the congregation of those who would listen to the Law might assemble, (we) made a pleasant hall of the Law built of stone bricks. At the place for preaching the Law, (we) made a gold throne. Above the throne, (we) set up a gold umbrella and above it also (we) made a canopy. A large and pleasant monastery - the residence of our Lord the Elder also was made, where all good people desiring *nirvana* might receive instruction. In the surrounding place outside the inner wall (we) also made a row of monasteries where our Lords practising piety out of love for the Religion might abide. That our noble Lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also (made). To the east a large tank also was (made) with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and troughs also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was created. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure (we) made a large and pleasant *tanchon* - rest house, magnificently (decorated) with all sorts of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it (we) also made a permanent *carap* - alms house, of brick where good people wishing to give alms might give their alms. On the outskirts of the city (we) also made a store house built solidly of brick. For the comfort of the Lord, the Law and the Order who are in this monastery (we) have left there many attendants. In order that all the people coming from the four quarters might fulfil their wants, (we) also dug a well solidly built of brick. In order that all these good deeds made by (us) - the loving couple, may last through out the 5000 years of the Religion, (we) made many arrangements. In order that repairs be continuously done on our behalf, that (the premises) may be cleansed, that regular offerings of food, oil-lights, betel and flowers be always made to the Lord and the Law and the rice alms be given to the patient noble Lords, (we) - the loving couple, dedicated the following (slaves).

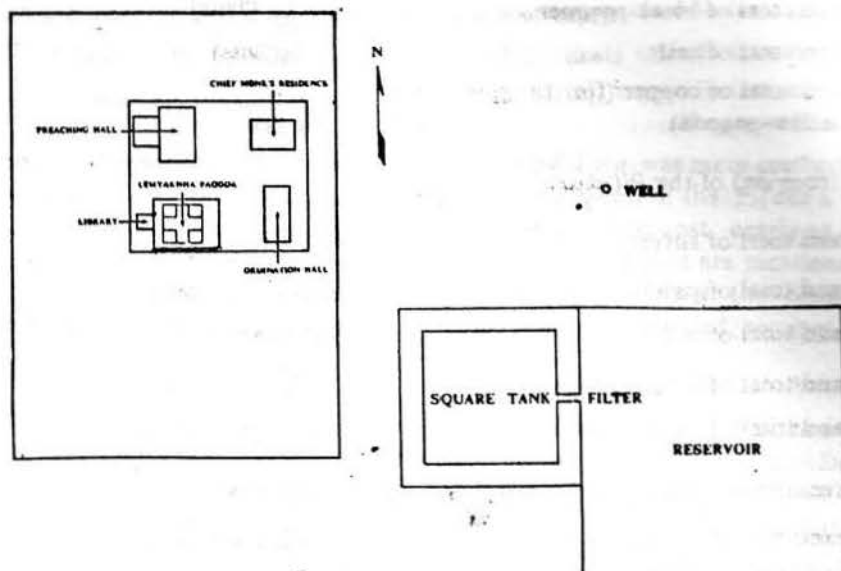
The establishment as seen to-day looks like the plan¹ shown on the next page.

Princess *Acawkrwan*, daughter of King *Uccanā* and Queen *Sumilūla* founded an establishment in A.D. 1248 at Minnanthu, Pagan, and left an interesting account of the expenditure on that work. The establishment consisted of a hollow - pagoda with four images of the Lord, a library with a complete set of the *pitaka*, a preaching hall, a big monastery with multiple roofs, a big brick monastery with front extension and an enclosure wall all around them. The expenditure was as follows:

// *apon krī kū phway*, so *kla so nuy kā* 1747 *pay 3 lum* // *apon krī khwak kā* 74 *pisā* // *apon krī puchuiw kā* 113 *than* // *apon krī kū thwat lin so rhuy* 23 *klyap* // *apon krī pratā* 92 *klyap* // *apon krī capā* 1867½ // *apon krī kwamī* 2 *kaḍun*

1. The author is indebted to U Swe and his team of the Burma Historical Commission for this plan.

PLAN OF THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT AT AMANĀ,
PAGAN, BY ANANDASURA AND HIS WIFE IN (A. D. 1223)



nhañ, 1160 lum||apōñ krī nruṭ $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$ ||apōñ krī chā $7\frac{1}{2}$ ||apōñ krī kū thwat khus
so kriy kā 66 bisā || 0 || piṭakat plu so klā so nuy kā apōñ krī 2027 || apōñ krī
chan $504\frac{1}{16}$ ||apōñ krī capā 2309 $\frac{1}{2}$ ||apōñ krī chā $110\frac{1}{16}$ ||apōñ krī nruṭ $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$ ||
apōñ krī kwamī 10kaḍuñ nhañ, 4870 ||apōñ krī calac kloñ hoñ plu so klā so nuy
kā 758 $\frac{1}{4}$ lum || apōñ krī khwak 8 bisā || apōñ krī puchiwi 68 thañ || apōñ
krī capā 504 tañ apōñ krī kwamī 2200 || apōñ krī catuik plu so klā so nuy kā
215 klyap || 0 || apōñ krī Kulā kloñ krī ūchak plu so klā so khwak kā 306 bisā ||
nuy kā 392 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ || puchiwi kā 45 thañ || 0 || apōñ krī tantuiñ plu so klā so nuy
kā 432 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ || khwak kā apōñ krī bisā 20 || apōñ krī lhañ kha knwak 53 pisā || apōñ
krī puchiwi 12 thañ || apōñ krī capā 182 tañ || 0 || apōñ krī Cuḷamani plu so klā so
nuy kā 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ || rhyu 3 lum khra || apōñ krī khwak 13 bisā kriy 30 || 0 || apōñ krī
Tanmhwam Kulā kloñ plu so klā so nuy kā 215 klyap || apōñ krī khwak kā 9
bisā ||¹

On the construction of the hollow – pagoda :

Grand total of silver	1747 (ticals) 3 pay
Grand total of khwak	74 viss
Grand total of loincloths	113 pieces
Grand total of gold (for the spire of the hollow-pagoda)	23 ticals
Grand total of quick silver	92 ticals
Grand total of paddy	1867 $\frac{1}{2}$ (baskets)

1. Pl. 164^{54.46}. See also *JBRs*, XXVI, i. p. 57 and *BRSEAP*, II, pp. 369-70, n. 105.

Grand total of areca nuts	2 <i>kaḍuṇ</i> + 1160
Grand total of black pepper	$\frac{7}{32}$ (7viss)
Grand total of salt	$7\frac{1}{2}$ (7viss)
Grand total of copper (for the spire of the hollow-pagoda)	66 viss

On the (copying) of the *Piṭaka*:

Grand total of silver	2037 (ticals)
Grand total of paddy	$504\frac{9}{16}$ (baskets)
Grand total of salt	110 (viss)
Grand total of black pepper	$\frac{23}{32}$ (viss)
Grand total of areca nuts	10 <i>kaḍuṇ</i> + 4870

On the repairing of the old monastery with "flame pediments"

Grand total of silver	758 $\frac{1}{2}$ ticals 4 <i>lumi</i>
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	8 viss
Grand total of loincloths	68 pieces
Grand total of paddy	504 baskets
Grand total of areca nuts	2200

On the building of the library:

Grand total of silver	215 ticals
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On the building of the big brick monastery with front extension:

Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	306 viss
of silver	392 $\frac{1}{2}$ (ticals)
of loincloths	45 pieces

On the erection of an enclosure wall:

Grand total of silver	432 $\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals)
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	20 viss
Grand total of <i>khwak</i> on cart hire	53 viss
Grand total of loincloths	12 pieces
Grand total of paddy	182 baskets

On the construction of the *Cuḷāmani* (pagoda):

Grand total of silver	44 $\frac{1}{4}$ (ticals)
of gold	3 <i>lumi khra</i>
Grand total of <i>khwak</i>	13 viss
of copper	30 viss

On the building of the *Tanmhwam* brick monastery:

Grand total of silver 215 ticals

Grand total of *khwak* 9 viss

One cannot help noticing that making a copy of the *Piṭaka* was more costly than erecting a hollow-pagoda. In fact for less than one and a half the cost of the *Piṭaka* a big monastery with "flame pediments" could be built. The enclosure walls cost nearly as much as the monastery itself. As rice, salt, pepper, areca nuts and lincloths are mentioned in the cost, it seems that workers were given free food and clothing during the construction of the establishment. Another inscription (A.D. 1236) gives a detailed account of wages and expenses.

v. // *panphay piy sa le 4 klyap* // *kū riy so pankhī piy so le 7* // *kloñ riy so pankhī piy so le 120* // *ranāy way so 7 klyap* // *panpu piy ra so 30 purhāsamā piy so 20* // *tuik ram lin so 2 klyap* // *nan riy so rhuy 2 klyap* // *kanāprañ sac phuiw 10* // *ta tuiñ klok aphuiw kā 3 klap khway* // *kū kloñ tamkha muk cum, aṅkaty phuiw kā* // *khwak 3 klyap so kā nuy 13 nwā 5 khu so nuy 20* // *añak way so 5 klyap lanpan so nuy 5 klyap* // *pyā 62 tanak so kā pyā phuiw nuy 71 klyap* // *nwā nuiw, kā 248 tanak* // *nwā nuw, aphuiw kā 25 klyap* // *sarwat phuiw kā capā 320* // *klok ut 300 so e, rikhā capā 30 aṅkaty thoñ kha pisañ piy so capā 120* // *purān rikhā capā 140* // *pankhī rikhā capā 54 tañ* // *tacañsañ panpu rikhā capā 60* // *capā aphuiw kā 4 tañ so 1 klyap swaṇ sakā nuy hū mu kā 38 klyap hi e,* // *kū thwat kriy pisa khway so nuy 3 klyap* // *rhuy 1½ so nuy 12 klyap* // *prata 3 klyap so le nuy 2 klyap* // *kū thwat lakkha piy so le nuy 10* // *sam phuiw nuy 10* // *kloñ ranāy thup lyok way so nuy 20* // *sac nāñ so lhañ kha piy so nuy 10* // *chiy, than hañsapatā chun mliyphlū kyaktañuiy khrit kamkut khapañ so e, aphuiw kā nuy 50* // *purhā ryaṇ chay chū so le purhāsamā piy so le nuy 10* // *pankhī piy so le nuy 20* // *pratā sañ piy sa le pukhrañ phyañ 1 thañ khachī 1 thañ* // *purhāsamā piy so phyañ mañ klyaw 1 thañ khachī 1 thañ* // *pankhī piy so pukhrañ phyañ 1 thañ khachī 1 thañ* // *laksamā 3 kip so le pukhrañ khachī 30* // *purān 4 yok so piy sa le phyañ 4 thañ khachī 4 thañ* // *purhāsamā mrañ 1 cī* // *purān laksama mrañ 1 cī* // *pukhrañ phyañ 2 thañ khachī 2 thañ* // *caṅkram Kulā kloñ phway, so ut kā 2 phuiw* // *ut e, aphuiw kā nuy 60* // *lhañ kha kā 22 klyap* // *caṅkram sac nāñ so lhañ kha nuy 6 klyap* // *tacañ sañ piy so lakkha kā nuy 10* // *Kulā kloñ tamkhā plu so nuy 1 klyap* // *tamkhā khum klok 1 chū so kā nuy 1½* // *Kulā kloñ phway, so purān lakkha 3½* // *lhañ kha khwak 1 khlap so nuy 2 klyap* // *kwañsi 1350 so nuy 2 klyap* // *capā 4 tañ so nuy 1 klyap* // *phyañ phlū 1 thañ so nuy 1 klyap* // *tamkhā khum klok . . so le nuy . . klyap* //¹

Given to the blacksmiths 4 ticals (of silver)

Given to the painters who painted the *kū* 7 (ticals of silver)Gives to the painters who painted the *kloñ* 120 (ticals of silver)

For the purchase of rafters 7 ticals (of silver)

Given to the wood-carvers	30	(ticals of silver)
Given to the image-makers	20	(ticals of silver)
For painting the walls	2	ticals (of silver)
For painting the ? shrine	2	ticals of gold
Cost of wood for the ? out-house	10	(ticals of silver)
Cost of a monolith	3½	ticals (of silver)
Cost of plasters for doors and archways of the <i>kū</i> and the <i>kloñ</i> is 3 cups of <i>khwak</i> at	13	(ticals) of silver
For 5 cattle	20	(ticals) of silver
For the purchase of powder	5	ticals (of silver)
For trays	5	ticals of silver
Cost of 22 <i>tanak</i> of honey	77	ticals (of silver)
Cost of 248 <i>tanak</i> of milk	25	ticals (of silver)
Cost of mortar	320	(baskets) of paddy
For 300 stone bricks	30	(baskets) of ? store - paddy
Given to the pounders for crushing the plaster	120	(baskets) of ? store - paddy
For the masons	140	(baskets) of ? store - paddy
For the painters	54	(baskets) of ? store - paddy
For the ? adzers and wood-carvers	20	(baskets) of ? store - paddy
Cost of paddy - 4 baskets at	1	tical (of silver)
For bringing in the...	38	ticals (of silver)
For the spire of the <i>kū</i> copper 1½ viss at	3	ticals (of silver)
1½ (ticals) of gold	12	ticals of silver
3 ticals of quick silver	2	ticals of silver
Wages for the spire of the <i>ku</i>	10	(ticals) of silver
Cost of iron	10	(ticals) of silver
For the purchase of rafters, crossbeams and eaves-boards for the <i>kloñ</i>	20	(ticals) of silver
Cart hire for dragging timber	10	(ticals) of silver
Cost of orpiment, vermillion, minium chalk, <i>kyaktanuiy</i> , gum-lac and plumbago altogether	50	(ticals) of silver
Given to the image-makers for 10 standing Buddhas	10	(ticals) of silver
Given to the painters	20	(ticals) of silver
Given to the workers in quick silver	1	lower garment
	1	waist band
Given to the image-makers	1	fine black cloth
	1	waist band

Given to the painters	1 lower garment
	1 waist band
For thirty carpenters	(30) lower garments
	30 waist bands
Given to 4 masons	4 pieces of cloth
	4 waist bands
To the image-makers	1 horse
To the mason-carpenter	1 horse
	2 lower garments
	2 waist bands
Bricks from 2 kilns to construct the promenade of the <i>Kulā kloñ</i>	60 (ticals) of silver
Cart hire	22 ticals (of silver)
Cart hire for dragging timber for the promenade	6 ticals of silver
	10 (ticals) of silver
Wages given to the ? adzers	10 (ticals) of silver
For making the doors of the <i>Kulā kloñ</i>	1 tical of silver
For a block of stone for the door threshold	1½ (tical) of silver
Wages of the masons who constructed the <i>Kulā kloñ</i>	3½ (ticals) of silver
Cart hire - <i>khlap</i> of <i>khwak</i> at	2 ticals of silver
For 1350 areca nuts	2 ticals of silver
For 4 baskets of paddy	1 tical of silver
For 1 piece of white cloth	1 tical of silver
For stones for the door-threshold

The painters, carvers and image-makers who decorated the finished building were equally as important as the masons, carpenters and blacksmiths who built it. It would be interesting to know why the master mason and image-maker were given horses. As we have seen, the workers seem to enjoy free food and clothing during their work on the establishment. Inscriptions of the later period also show that the workers enjoyed free food, etc. and that the master architects were given oxen, horses and elephants. For the sake of comparison a rough rendering into English of the relevant portion of an inscription (lines 27-49) dated A.D. 1520 of Nigyawda village near Tada-U is given below:

On Saturday 17 August 1504 just after midnight the plan of the building was laid and the foundation area was dug up. The building was to be

41½ feet wide

44 feet long

44½ feet high and

7½ feet thick.

In the morning some gold and silver bricks were laid to mark the auspicious beginning of the establishment to be known as *Nigroda* (The Banyan Grove) Monastery. The following were given as the price of various building materials and as the wages of workers, etc.

For bricks	9	<i>narakā</i> horses
	4	oxen
	1	silver tray
	1	silver bowl
	10	viss of silver
	39	bronze trays
	1	bolt of cotton
	10	pieces of cloth
	47	turhans
	18	bundles of tea
Firewood	650	viss of copper
Another consignment of bricks	120	viss of copper
The doorsteps	11	viss of copper
To masons	480	baskets of paddy
The site of the Monastery	200	viss of copper
	800	basket of paddy
Varnish	150	viss of copper
Molasses and buffalo hide	50	viss of copper
To masons who made the <i>maraphan</i> and top decorations	80	baskets of paddy
Makers of plaster	10	ticals of silver
For other wages	370	ticals of silver
The total expenditure for construction	7740	ticals of silver
	5060	baskets of paddy

On Sunday 23 July 1509 the planing of wood began. On Monday 28 August 1509 the wooden portion of the building began.

1 cross beam	10½ ft. long
1 wall plate	27 ft. long
4 Central posts	45 ft. long each

These six were put under a white umbrella and were raised in place simultaneously to the accompaniment of drums, horns and bugles.

For timber	2	<i>narakā</i> elephants
	14	horses

	8	oxen
	28	pieces of cloth
	197	pieces of loin cloth
	130	bundles of tea
	2784	baskets of paddy
	4	silver trays
	2	silver bowls
	27	copper trays
Various wages	1000	viss of copper
To hewers of stone	1466 $\frac{3}{5}$	ticals of silver
	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	viss of copper
	43	pieces loin cloth
	4321	baskets of paddy
Carvers of stone	1420	ticals of silver
Enclosure wall	385	ticals of silver
Mārappān partition	40	viss of copper
Canopy	70	ticals of silver
Nonnān prān	90	ticals of silver
Painters	350	ticals of silver
Sawyers	10	ticals of silver
Wood-carvers	2	elephants
	23	horses
	12	oxen
	5	silver trays
	3	silver bowls
	66	copper trays
	38	pieces of cloth
	278	turbans
	148	bundles of tea
The total cost of the main building and its top extension were paid in both silver and copper, but in terms of silver it was 13644 ticals of silver. The provisions given amounted to 90381 baskets of paddy.		

To gild the top extension	715	ticals of gold
Painting the main building	300	ticals of silver
Copying a set of <i>tipiṭaka</i> in 130 works	3333	ticals of silver
	3333	baskets of paddy

Now we find that the cost of a fairly big brick building with wooden decorations in the early 16th century was 13,644 ticals of silver and the cost of gilding and painting was 715 ticals of gold and 300 ticals of silver. It took nearly five years to complete the building. The copying of a set of *piṭaka* was 3333 ticals of silver and 3333 baskets of paddy. We have mentioned above that in the middle of the 13th century, a big monastery could be built with one third of the price of the *piṭaka*. In the 16th century the monastery cost nearly five times the price of the *piṭaka*. Perhaps it was because scribe's fee had been reduced greatly as more people know the art of writing than in the Pagan period. It is a pity that that we do not know the length of time taken to complete these establishments. But from the evidence in the Shwegu inscription¹ we know that a fairly big hollow-pagoda could be completed within seven months. The building of Shwegu started on Sunday 17 May 1131 and everything was completed on Thursday 17 Dec. 1131. Another donor gave an interesting list of dates as follows.

// Sakarāc 598 khu Kratuik nhac // Plasuiw la chut 3 ryak // Tannhanlā niy, tak 9 phlwā khway puthuiw kū thāpanā e, // 28 ryak lhyān pri e, // kū thāpanā so niy, lhyān riy twañ tū e, // Tapuiwthway la chut 13 ryak Sokrā niy lhyān tantuiñ tañ e, // Tapon la pluñ tantuiñ pri e, // kū rhuy thwat kā Tapon la chut 7 ryak Tannhanlā niy tak 9 phlwā khway tañ e, // kū chi y riy sa kā Tankhū la chan 10 ryak Sukra niy kū purhā 14619 yok // jāṭ 550 // 12 ryak Tannhanlā niy pri e, // kloñ le pri e, // dhammasā pri e, // tryā panlān pri e, // khoñloñ kriy apisā 106 pisā khway e, swan e, // kū thwat kā kriy 55 pisā khway kū thwat lin so rhuy 46 klyap hiy e, // purhā liymyaknhā so lin)so rhuy 20 // cāsañ 5 khu plu e, // mlac ok kū ñay le chi y riy e, kloñ twañ puthuiw purhā chuiw plu e, // ñoñ 3 pāñ cuik e, // riy im 3 pā plu e, // samaruw le chok e, pitakat le pri e, // Namiyun la chan 7 ryak Tannhanlā niy kā pan e, // Nattaw la chut 9 ryak Sukrā niy kā lhwat e, kū kā Plasuiw la chut 3 ryak Tannhanlā niy thāmanā e, // 0 // Sakarac 599 khu Myakkasuih nhac Kuchun la chut 4 ryak Tannhanlā niy mañ mat Ñānapicañ kū lhwat e, lhwat so lhu so purhā kywan... 2

When the rising sun cast nine and a half foot-steps (of shadow) on Monday 16 Dec. 1236, the hollow-pagoda was enshrined. It was finished after (the lapse of) twenty eight days (i.e. on 13 Jan. 1237). On the day the hollow-pagoda was enshrined a well was dug. On Friday, 25 Jan. (1237), the enclosure wall was built. It was completed on 10 Feb. (1237). The golden spire of the hollow-pagoda was set up when the rising sun cast nine and a half footsteps (of shadow) on Monday 17 Feb. (1237). (On the walls of) the hollow-pagoda were painted 14,619 Buddhas and scenes from 550 *Jātaka*. The painting was started on Friday, 7 March (1237) and completed on Monday, (? 24 March 1237). The monastery

1. Pl. 1 and 2

2. Pl. 105a¹⁻²⁰. See also *JBR*, XXXVI, i, pp. 56-7.

was also finished. The Hall of the Law was finished. The throne of the Law was finished. A bell was cast of 106½ viss of copper. The spire of the hollow-pagoda (weighed) 55½ viss of copper and was coated with 46 ticals of gold. The gold for coating four images of the Lord placed back to back was 20 (ticals). Five hostels for the students were constructed. The small hollow-pagoda on the north was also painted. A ruined solid-pagoda within (the enclosure of) the monastery was repaired. Three banyan trees were planted. Three water closets were made. A *samaruīw*¹ was also built. The *Piṭṭaka* was also finished. An application (to the king) was made on Monday 13 April (1236). The dedication was made on Friday 25 Nov. (1236). The hollow-pagoda was enshrined on Monday 16 Dec. (1236). On Monday 14 May 1237, the minister *Nānapaccaya* dedicated slaves ...

The donor who was a minister, probably had to apply to the king for a grant of land for his intended religious establishment. It was a little over a year from the date of the application to the date when he gave land and slaves to the finished establishment.

Thus from the illustrations given above we find that a fairly big religious establishment enclosed by a brick wall and consisting of a pagoda, many monasteries and other religious buildings could be completed in a year under normal conditions. Abnormal times however delayed buildings. We find that a building started on the eve of the Mongol invasion was left unfinished for fifteen years.² Usually the enclosure wall was constructed first. Sometimes double enclosures were made—the inner compound was reserved for the Lord and the Law and the outer area for the Order. The donors took great care to transform such enclosed areas into delightful gardens with reservoirs and palm trees. Then within the inner wall, not necessarily in the centre, they built the pagoda either solid or hollow in structure. Hollow-pagodas seemed to be more popular as they provided four walls on which the scenes from the *Jātaka* could be painted as decorations. Moreover, the paintings were the most striking and effective means of convincing the common folk of the merit of giving alms and of meditation. Right in the centre of the hollow-pagoda, was the relic chamber. The relics were encased and four images of the Lord were placed back to back around that encasement so that pilgrims coming to the shrine from four directions might find a semblance of the Lord who showed them the way to nirvana. Mostly the images were gilt, thus glimmering in the poor light of the oil-lamps against the background of the dark cave-like construction of the shrine. In the vicinity of the shrine a depository for the Law written on palm leaves was built. A preaching hall and an ordination hall would also be added to the premises. The chief monk of the establishment would probably get a separate building within the inner wall. In the outer compound were the buildings for the monks, the lay devotees, store houses and accommodations for the slaves of the establishment. In fact many of these establishments served as educational institutes and as such they have remained until the present day in Burma.

1. Professor Pe Maung Tin connects this word with *သမ္ပူ* which Halliday's *Mon-English Dictionary*, p. 444 gives as "putridity" and therefore it would mean "lavatory." See *JBR*, XXVI, i, p. 56. Professor G. H. Luce suggests a "staircase." See *BRSFAP*, II, p. 370, n. 110. But Pl. 310b inscription mentions that 36 posts of *samaruīw* are given to the monastery. This nullifies both lavatory and staircase. See also Pl. 183, Pl. 105a¹⁴, Pl. 1637, Pl. 271¹⁰.

2. Pl. 277¹⁻⁸

Some Important Pagodas of Pagan (Map III)

I. Nyaung-u East Circle

1. Sudaungbye
2. Paungdaw-u
3. Chaukpahla
4. Shwethabeik
5. Thetkyamuni
6. Kyaukgu Onhmin
7. Yatsauk
8. Hnasingu
9. Thamihwet Onhmin
10. Hmyathat Onhmin
11. Hngetpyittaung
12. Gawdama
13. Gawdama Zedi
14. Paunglè Onhmin
15. Shweminwun

II. Nyaung-u West Circle

1. Shwezigôn
2. Shinbinyanza
3. Thahtaygu
4. Shwe Zedi
5. Ngamyethna
6. Nyaung-u Theinmazi
7. Myatheindan
8. Theinmathu
9. Lawkahmangin
10. Shitmyethna
11. Shinmathi
12. Shinbinnan
13. Shwegu
14. Letpyagu
15. Chedawya

III. Wetkyl-in Circle

1. Payani
2. Mohnyishwekyau
3. Oktamagyaw Okkyau
4. Bidagat
5. Kyanzittha Onhmin
6. Tazaungkyau
7. Gubyaukyi
8. Khemawaya

IV. Taungbilla Circle

1. Shwekungya
2. Shwethabeik

3. Myazigôn

4. Upalithein
5. Htilominlo
6. Einyagyaung
7. Eindapyitsaya
8. Shwekyau-gu
9. Kyin
10. Bidagat Taik
11. Minhmyawya
12. Min-o-chantha
13. Hnakeyikshitsu
14. Ledatkyau
15. Ananda

V. Pagan Myoma Circle

1. Bu
2. Sawhlawun
3. Bawdhi
4. Atwingsigôn
5. Gawdawpalin
6. Pasittok
7. Shwegugyi
8. Thabyinnyu
9. Sithupahto
10. Pahtothamya
11. Nwabyagu
12. Sinbyagu
13. Shwesandaw
14. Ni Ama
15. Ni Nyima
16. Gubyaukyi
17. Theinmazi
18. Pénatha
19. Mingala Zedi
20. Gubyaukngè
21. Myazedi
22. Aggadc
23. Manawhayaza
24. Nan
25. Abèyadana
26. Mèdawayat
27. Kyazin
28. Nagayôn

29. Somingyi
30. Seinnyet Nyi-ama
31. Sawlugin
32. Lawkananda

VI. Nanthu Circle

1. Maungyongu
2. Izzagawna
3. Winido
4. Asawlat
5. Hnasingu
6. Nandamyinnya
7. Dayinpahto
8. Thambula
9. Minwaing
10. Tatkale
11. Tayokpye
12. Amana
13. Lebathmauk
14. Malabyit
15. Malônbyit
16. Letputkan
17. Sulamani
18. Damayangyi
19. Sinbyushin
20. Sawhlawun
21. Sabwèhmauk
22. Lemyathna
23. Anaukhlegu
24. Myaukhlegu
25. Anaukzanthi
26. Ashezanthi

VII. Pwazaw Circle

1. Thamuti
2. Kutha
3. Peinnè
4. Damayazika
5. Thein
6. Thitmahti
7. Thitsawadi
8. Minmayè
9. Sudaungbye
10. Thanbyanzw
11. Zeyaput
12. Kazun-o

VIII. Twinywa Circle

1. Thayawade
2. Bochomi
3. Kyaunggyi Nyi-ama
4. Sedana

MAP III

SOME IMPORTANT PAGODAS OF PAGAN TOWNSHIP

(From The List of Pagodas in Pagan under Government Custody, Rangoon, 1900)

CIRCLES

- I NYAUNG-U EAST CIRCLE
- II NYAUNG-U WEST CIRCLE
- III KETU-IL CIRCLE
- IV TADUNGILSYA CIRCLE
- V PAGAN MYOMA CIRCLE
- VI NANHTU CIRCLE
- VII PHALAN CIRCLE
- VIII TWENTY CIRCLE

I N D E X

Abeyadana	V 25	Nya Zedi	V 21
Aggade	V 22	Nyaxigön	IV 3
Anana	VI 12	Nagayön	V 28
Ananda	IV 15	Nan	V 24
Anakhlaga	VI 23	Nandemyinnya	VI 6
Anakhsanthi	VI 25	Ngasethna	II 5
Asmlet	VI 4	Nwabaga	V 11
Ashesanthi	VI 26	Nyung-u Theinmari	II 6
Atwinaigön	V 4	Okkamyaw Okkyauing	III 3
Bawdi	V 3	Paktothanya	V 10
Bidegat	III 4	Paattök	V 6
Bidegat Taik	IV 10	Paungdar-u	I 2
Bochoad	VIII 2	Paunglè Onbain	I 14
Bu	V 1	Payani	III 1
Chakpabla	I 5	Peimè	VII 3
Chodswya	II 15	Pénatba	V 18
Damyanngyi	VI 18	Sabwènauk	VI 21
Damyanika	VII 4	Sawhlaun	V 2
Deyinpahto	VI 7	Sawhlaun	VI 20
Elindapittaya	IV 7	Sawlaun	V 31
Elindapittaya	IV 6	Sedana	VIII 4
Gawdama	I 12	Sekunyet Nyi-ama	V 30
Gawdama Zedi	I 13	Shinbinnan	II 12
Gawdampalin	V 5	Shinbinyan	II 2
Gabyasakgi	III 7	Shinsheti	II 11
Gabyasakgi	V 16	Shitayethna	II 10
Gabyasakgi	V 20	Shwegu	II 13
Gand. Ama	V 14	Shwegu	V 7
Gand. Myina	V 15	Shwegu	IV 1
Hagadhat Onbain	I 10	Shwegu	IV 8
Hakyaikshitou	IV 13	Shwegu	I 15
Hawing	I 8	Shwegu	V 13
Hawing	VI 5	Shwegu	I 4
Hawing	I 11	Shwegu	IV 2
Hawing	IV 5	Shwegu	II 4
Hawing	VI 2	Shwegu	I 1
Kazun-o	VII 12	Shwegu	V 12
Khamawya	III 8	Shwegu	VI 19
Kutha	VII 2	Shwegu	V 9
Kyaukmittha Onbain	III 5	Shwegu	V 29
Kyaukpa Onbain	I 6	Shwegu	I 1
Kyaukpa Nyi-ama	VIII 3	Shwegu	VII 9
Kyaukpa	V 27	Shwegu	VI 17
Kyaukpa	IV 9	Shwegu	VI 10
Leakhamangin	II 9	Shwegu	VI 11
Leakhamangin	V 32	Shwegu	III 6
Leakhamangin	VI 13	Shwegu	V 8
Leakhamangin	IV 14	Shwegu	II 3
Leakhamangin	VI 22	Shwegu	VI 8
Leakhamangin	VI 16	Shwegu	I 5
Leakhamangin	II 14	Shwegu	VII 1
Leakhamangin	VI 14	Shwegu	VII 10
Leakhamangin	VI 15	Shwegu	VIII 1
Leakhamangin	V 23	Shwegu	VII 1
Leakhamangin	VI 1	Shwegu	II 8
Leakhamangin	V 26	Shwegu	V 17
Leakhamangin	V 19	Shwegu	I 5
Leakhamangin	IV 11	Shwegu	VII 6
Leakhamangin	VII 8	Shwegu	VII 7
Leakhamangin	IV 12	Shwegu	IV 4
Leakhamangin	VI 9	Shwegu	VI 3
Leakhamangin	III 2	Shwegu	I 7
Leakhamangin	II 7	Shwegu	VII 11
Leakhamangin	VI 24	Shwegu	

CHAPTER X.

THE SLAVES OF MEDIEVAL BURMA

A careful study of the position of slaves gleaned from contemporary inscriptions reveals to us the astounding fact that there was no obvious difference in the social life of a slave from other common people. He was always attached to a piece of land. Most of them were agriculturalists but there were others with vocations such as blacksmith, carpenters, musicians, dancers, etc. As these slaves were of different races we have reference to Mon slaves, Indian slaves and so on. Sometimes they were even classified as widows, family-heads, literates, sucklings, etc. Thus from a close study of the slaves we derive a fairly good picture of the social life of the Pagan period.

Kywan is the Burmese word for slave. From the evidence of the medieval Burmese inscriptions, we know that Buddhism exercised a great deal of influence on the Burmese way of life and thought. The average person understood that life is full of miseries and that everybody is enslaved by greed, anger and bewilderment i.e. *lobha*, *dosa* and *moha* until the time when he is able to free himself from such bondage and attain *nirvana*. Thus in a sense everybody is a slave and will always remain so until *nirvana* is reached. Therefore *Singhasūra* a minister of King *Caṅsū* II, in A.D. 1190 made a dedication in the belief that would help towards his salvation and said:

raṁmak kywan aphiac mha teñ taw than luiw rakā

which Professor G.H. Luce translates: "I want to rebel against this world of slavery to appetite."² Although the word "rebel" is used here, what the minister had in mind was a spiritual revolution which involves a series of self-denials of worldly pleasure. Anyway, for the time being he recognized himself as a slave of all enjoyments.

It would not be improper here to point out that although the word "*kywan*" is generally translated as "slave" and implies menial service by a person to another, a Burman of the medieval times understood it not in the same way as it is now commonly understood when the mention of slavery recalls to the mind the American plantations. If slavery to him was what the early 19th century humanitarians understood and did their utmost to abolish as being one of the most undesirable institutions of mankind, he would not have voluntarily turned himself into a slave as the following illustration³ will show:

*||saṅkrī Ray Kheñ mliṃ saṅkrī Nā Cway Sañ sã | saṅkrī Satyā tū || saṅkrī
Ābhīnantasū || amañ kā Nā Krī kuiw le lhū e, || saṅkrī Pān Rāñ sã saṅlyañ sam
miyā kuiw le lhū e, | samī krī kuiw le lhū e, samī nāy moṇma kuiw le lhū e, || kuiw
miyā sã nhac yok apoñ 4 yok pur-hā lhū ruy e, ||*³

1. Pl. 10a26

2. *JBRs*, XXVI, iii, p. 135

3. Pl. 610.15

I, *Nā Krī*, (also) known as *Saṅkrī Abhinantasū*, son of *Saṅkrī Nā Cway Sañ*, nephew of *Saṅkrī Satyā* and grandson of *Saṅkrī Ray Kheñ* dedicate myself. My wife, the daughter of *Saṅlyāñ* the son of *Saṅkrī Pān Rāñ*, (I) dedicate. My elder daughter and my younger daughter the *moñma* are also dedicated. Thus after dedicating (as slaves) to the pagoda myself, my wife and my two children, altogether four, I write this inscription.

A minister of *Tarukpliy* called *Gaṅgābijañ* made images of the Lord in silver, bronze and marble, mainature stupas of gold, silver, sandalwood, ivory, etc. and enshrined them in a hollow-pagoda. He gave twenty six works on *piṭaka* and built two big monasteries and three sheds for the monks. He also performed the *kathina* ceremony. To these meritorious deeds he added:

// *sā yokkyā sā miyma 2 yok kuiw le skhin lak e, 3 phan thū tumi e, ||1*

I gave three times into the hands of the Lord my two (children)—son and daughter.

Another illustration of this type is found in an inscription dated A.D. 1248. Princess *Acaw Krwam Skhīñ* daughter of King *Uccanā* and Queen *Sumlūla* said after dedicating 3,779 pay of land and 1,250 slaves:

...*ayañ tuiw, mruiw, nā le rutanā 3 pā so, kywāñ te ||...|| iñ mhya so ratanā sum pā kā nā asak hiy sa yhuy kā nā lup klwañ sate nā kanthā pyāk kha ruy asak achum nhuik te rok kha mū kā || iñ nā lup || klwañ e, suiw nā sā nhac yok klwañ ciy sate ||2*

...Besides these (slaves), I also am the slave of the three gems (i.e. the Lord, the Law, the Order)...As regards these three gems, as long as I live I serve. At the end of my life when this body of mine is destroyed, may my two children serve them as I have served.

Another donor *Nā Kram Lhok Sañ* dedicated in A.D. 1244 two slaves and thirty toddy palms to the pagoda and said:

// *i than 30 sa kā nā asak hi sa yhuy nā klwañ sate || nā te atañ may mu kā || i nā miyā nhañ sā 2 yok || nā kuiw cā purhā nhañ kloñ ā klwañ rac ciy sate ||3*

With these thirty toddy palm trees, I feed while I am alive. After my death, may my wife and two children carry on serving the pagoda and the monastery on my behalf.

1. Pl. 308²⁹

2. Pl. 164⁵², 47.⁹

3. Pl. 207^{5.4}

King *Cañsū II* once dedicated as slaves his three children by Queen *Uw Chok Pan* to the pagoda built by his teacher *Mahāthera Dhammavilāsa* but later he redeemed them by dedicating thirty pay of land in their stead.¹ Another king *Putasin Mañ* whom unfortunately we cannot identify sent men and money from Burma to effect repairs of the religious buildings at *Budh Gaya* in India and left an inscription in Burmese recording that the repairs were finished on Sunday, 13 October 1298 and that "two children as one's own off-spring" were dedicated as slaves there.² If a king could turn his children or children whom he regarded as his own into slaves, it evidently means that becoming a pagoda slave in those days was not a degradation in the social status. Apart from this evidence of king's children dedicated as slaves, we have had three examples—firstly an executive officer and a minister, secondly a princess and thirdly a commoner who dedicated themselves and their families as pagoda slaves which prove that slavery to those old Burmans did not mean the cruel thing we know. It savoured neither of the slave raids in Africa nor the licentiousness of an organised slave trade where well trained slaves were sold as luxury goods nor the degradation in social status of modern Burmese pagoda slave who in almost the same way as the untouchables of India are considered social outcasts. Broadly speaking, there are five causes for slavery—firstly, birth i.e. hereditary; secondly, sale of children by their free parents and insolvent debtors; thirdly, captives of war; fourthly, piracy and kidnapping; and fifthly, commerce, i.e. systematic slave trade. Now in the light of the above evidence we have just discussed, we should add another cause—voluntary.

For hereditary slaves we have ample evidence. In almost every inscription where the list of slaves appears, we have the mention of family groups. Sometimes a phrase like *lai miyā sū cūm*³—husband, wife and children is used to denote that the whole family has been turned into slaves and such phrases as *sā can mliy can*⁴ or *sā chak mliy chak*⁵—meaning from son to grandson in a line or a chain, is added to make it clear that their descendants will also be considered slaves. Sometimes a list of names is ended with this phrase *ty kā achuy kywān te*⁶ to signify that the persons mentioned above are all related to each other. Some other phrases that occur frequently in the inscriptions to denote that the whole group belongs to a slave family and indirectly that their descendants will also be counted as slaves are *apha sā*⁷ (father and children one group), *amisā ta up*⁸ (mother and children one group), *amisā*⁹ (mother and child), *sā apha*¹⁰ (child and father together two), *sā ami*¹¹ (child and mother together two) and *im thoñ*¹² (the family group). Sometimes *im thoñ*¹³ simply means domestic servants but mostly when this phrase occurs it means the whole family of slaves. For example,

1. Pl. 34¹⁰

2. Pl. 299⁸⁻¹⁴

3. Pl. 417¹⁰

4. & 5. Pl. 164⁵¹⁻⁵²

6. Pl. 149⁵

7. Pl. 18¹¹

8. Pl. 153b¹¹

9. Pl. 153a²⁵, Pl. 164²⁶

10. Pl. 277⁷

11. Pl. 227¹¹

12. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 190a (*passim*), Pl. 200^{4, 25, 26}, Pl. 256⁴, Pl. 376⁵, Pl. 557b⁵, Pl. 598b (*passim*)

13. Pl. 181^{5, 7, 10}

// kũ kri nhuik lñũ so kywan kã ãm thoñ Nã Nantã 1 miya kri Pi Lhũ 1 smĩ .
 Khyatsanã 1 smĩ Manĩ mithuy Bini 1 ãima Thani 1 mayã ñay Pa Lhũ sã Nã
 Nattaw 1 ñhama Mitti 1 // ãm thoñ Paw 1 miyã Jottã 1 smĩ Kawari 1 smĩ Ui,
 Kroñ 1 uri Hatã 1 // Rwã sã 1 sã Nã Phlũ 1 // Sunũ 1 smĩ Mañki 1 smĩ Ratani 1
 ãima Cani 1 // apoñ yokyã miyã cum 21 // 1

As for the slaves dedicated to the big hollow-pagoda they are the family of Nã Nantã, senior wife Pi Lhũ, daughter Khyatsana, daughter Manĩ, mother's younger sister Bini, younger sister Thani, junior wife Pa Lhũ, son Nã Nathaw, sister Mitti; the family of Paw, wife Jottã, daughter Kawari, daughter Ui, Kroñ, mother's elder brother Hatã, Rwã sã and son Nã Phlũ; Sunũ and daughter Mañki, daughter Ratani, younger sister Cani. The total of male and female slaves is 21.

Thus a slave community appeared and every new child born into that community was considered a slave. Perhaps they used the word *sapok*² for a person born of slave parents. Eventually slave villages came into existence as *kyon rwã lum*³ – the whole village of slaves in an inscription dated A.D. 1223; *kloñ kywan rwã*⁴ – the village of monastery slaves in an inscription dated A.D. 1235, *Ñhak Pluiyaw Tuñ kywan rwã akun*⁵ – the whole slave village of Ñhak Pluiyaw Tuñ in an inscription dated A.D. 1242; simply *kywan rwã*⁶ – the slave village in a dedication of Lord Kañkasũ's wife in A.D. 1242; *wat khlak rwã*⁷ – the rice cooking village meaning that the villagers were all slaves to the nearby monastery and that they served it as cooks. This appears in the dedication of one of the queens of Tarukpli made in A.D. 1266 and lastly the famous Gubyaukgyi⁸ inscription of Prince Rãjakumãr mentioned the three slave villages of Sakmunalon, Rapay and Henbuiw.

Naturally owners considered slaves as part of their estates that could be handed down from father to son, or could be bought or sold or used in settling of debts⁹ which often led to disputes and law suits for ownership.¹⁰ Perhaps to avoid disputes at a later date, judges were called upon to witness the transfer of ownership¹¹ which was duly registered, signed and sealed.¹² *Amuy kywan*¹³ – the inherited slaves is the term used by Nã U Lyoñ to describe eleven slaves whom he inherited from his aunt Yaptaw sañ Khyat Ma, the concubine of King Cañsu I. When Prince Gañgã sũra the son of King Cañsũ I by Queen Vatañsikã or

1. Pl. 190a⁵⁻⁶

2. Pl. 182a²¹, Pl. 19322-5, Pl. 543a⁵⁰, Pl. 597c^{5,11}

3. Pl. 51⁸

4. Pl. 127a^{5,4}

5. Pl. 140b⁹

6. Pl. 145⁸

7. Pl. 215b¹⁸

8. The Rãjakumãr Inscription. Pl. 362^{50,2}

9. Pl. 393¹⁵ (Samã Ñay handed over four slaves to the donor in settlement of a debt.)

10. Pl. 74^{8,20}, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79ab

11. Pl. 56b^{6,9}

12. Pl. 77^{6,10}

13. Pl. 75a⁵, Pl. 3922⁶

Uchokpan died, perhaps without any children to inherit his property, his elder brother Prince Rājasūra took a portion of his estate, undoubtedly leaving the major portion in the hands of the widow, the daughter of Non Rām Kri. The widow, recorded in A.D. 1242 that

//latuiw skhiñ mañ Kañkāsū pyam̐ tau mū prī so amuy hu skhiñ non̐ mañ Rājāsū yū liy so Mrañ kī kywan...10 kip//¹

When our lord Prince Gañgāsūra died, by inheritance, our lord, the senior brother Prince Rājāsūra took ... 10 slaves of Mrañkī.²

We have quite a number of cases where the inheritance is in the descending order. For example, we have the following descriptive phrases about the slaves: *ami mha lā so kywan kā*³ – as for the slaves from mother; *apha mha lā so kywan kā*⁴ – as for the slaves from father; *aphuiw kā la so kywan*⁵ – slaves from grandfather; *nā mi nā ā coñ ma kywan hū piy so*⁶ – slaves given by my mother to help me; *arī nā ā piy so*⁷ – slaves given by my father's sister and *nā mi nā pha ka lā so kywan*⁸ – slaves from my mother and my father. But we have also records where the persons concerned were very anxious to make known to the outside world that the slaves in their possession were not inherited. It will not be uninteresting at this point to consider a few examples where explicit mention is made that the slaves in question were not part of the inherited property but that the owner had earned them by sheer hard work.

A lady called *Ui Plañ Cum̐ Sañ* making a dedication in A.D. 1233 said:

īy kywan 7 yok sā kā ami lā so kywān le ma hut apha lā so kywan le ma hut nā lañ Nā Koñ Sañ nham̐ nā tī si mu ruy ra so kywān te⁹

These seven slaves are not the slaves from mother nor from father. My husband Nā Koñ Sañ and I got them as the fruit of (our work).

Nā Mañ Sañ and wife said in A.D. 1238:

//īy kywan kā ami apha amuy mahut cwam̐ // lañ myā (dharani) mū ruy, ra so kywan te//¹⁰

These slaves are not inherited from our parents. We, the husband and wife got them by bring them up.

In A.D. 1242, a rich man Nā Mlhok Sañ said:

// nā phuw ka nā phiy ka lā so nā mi nā pha ka lā so kywen le ma hut nā chuw nray to sī mū ruy, ra so//kywen te¹¹

These slaves are not from my great grandfather, my grandfather, my mother or my father. I underwent hardships to get them.

1. Pl. 144¹⁷⁻¹⁸

2. This exercise of the right of inheritance by an elder brother would not be welcomed in Burma to-day, for when a Burman Buddhist dies without children, the widow inherits the whole estate. This incidence of an elder brother inheriting some of the slaves of his younger should be regarded as an exceptional case.

3. 212⁵, 8

4. Pl. 212⁸, 12 Pl. 150⁴

5. Pl. 88⁴

6. Pl. 120a²⁻⁵

7. Pl. 120a⁵

8. Pl. 150²

9. Pl. 70⁶⁻⁸

10. Pl. 129⁷⁻⁹

11. Pl. 141b³⁻⁷

A rich lady *Ui, Krami Khyā Sañ* and husband dedicated eleven slaves to the image at the hollow-pagoda that they built in A.D. 1231 and said:

// *i anhañ lañ miyā nī ruy, lū so kywan kã nã tuiw ami apha amuy kywan le ma hut // nã tuiw amlyuiw 7 chak mha lã so amuy kywan le ma hut anhañ lañ miyā chuiw nray lup ruy, ra so kywan nhañ nhañ te //*¹

These slaves that we-the loving couple, have agreed to dedicate are not the inheritance begotten from our parents nor from our ancestors of seven generations. They are entirely the produce of our labour.

Slaves of another loving couple are described as:

*mon nham nhac yok chuiw nray pañ pañ mū ruy ra so kywan*²

Slaves begotten through hardship and toil by the loving husband and wife.

Another rich lady in A.D. 1248 said about her slaves:

// *ami apha mha lã so kywan le ma hut // nã chuiw nray lum la mū ruy-ra so kywan te //*³

(These) slaves are not from mother or father. I got them through hardship and endeavour.

Different from the above mentioned examples is the man who received four slaves on his father's death but was made answerable for his father's debts. So he declared:

// *iy yok so kywan sañ-kã apha kywan hū ruy akhlañ nī lhyāñ piy sa ma hut // apha mri khapay lhyāñ chap ruy ra sate //*⁴

As for these four slaves, they are not given over to me for nothing just because they are my father's slaves. I got them after repaying all my father's debts.

A gentleman went even to the extent of claiming that he got his slaves by virtue of his merit by saying *nã wīra lum, la satañ sum ruiy, e, ra so kywan te*.⁵ Except for monks and religious establishments who receive their slaves as donations, slaves owned were either part of their inherited property, or acquisitions through buying or settling a debt or from success in a law suit. If buying slaves was possible, there must have been some form of a recognised slave trade, which we will discuss later.

As for the insolvent debtor who has to give himself up as a slave to his creditor, we have the following illustration. There was a *piymā* (palmleaf maker) called *Nā Tañ, Sañ* (Mr. Upright). Perhaps he was a master palmleaf maker with many assistants and slaves. As fate would have it, he went bankrupt in A.D. 1227. In order to appease his many creditors he went to *Anantasūra*, one of the ministers of King *Nātoṇmyā* (1211-31) with the following terms:

1. Pl. 157^{16.10}

2. Pl. 1606^{5.5}

3. Pl. 161b^{10.12}

4. Pl. 204a^{6.0}

5. Pl. 572a^{24.5}

// *atuiw kywan pyak ci chañ ñray kha e, // i y miyā ñā smī 2 yok ña skhiñ kywan so phlac ciy khlyañ // ... // atuiw, kywan pyak ci chañ ñray kha ruy, // pliy phañ kha so kywan tuiw, le hi e, sū mri yū ruy, mri sañ mri nhañ, ma tan tay, rup liy so kywan tuiw, le hi e, i y mhya so kywan khañ kā ña skhiñ myā lhyañ piy sate // su lak twañ hi so mhya le thut ciy khlyañ e, // su utca tuiw, chap ryā sa le chap ciy khlyañ e,¹*

(My Lord!) We, your slaves, are ruined and (made) miserable. These, (my) wife and my two daughters, (I) want them to become your slaves, My Lord ... As your slave is ruined and made miserable, there are many slaves who have fled and who hesitate (i.e. they will also flee sooner or later). Some are already given up to settle debts but there are not enough to settle all debts. I give you and your wife the remaining slaves. (It is my) request that you redeem those who are now in others' possession and settle all our debts.

Thus the bankrupt master palmleaf maker made his family and his slaves the slaves of the minister Anantāsura.

We have no direct evidence for war captive slaves nor for slave raids. But we have three examples which we may connect slavery with war. In the Great Shwezigon inscription in old Mon, we find that the enemies of Pagan who were presumably the Mon of lower Burma took some of its citizens downstream as captive. But they were later freed and restored to Pagan through the might of Thiluin Mañ probably just before he took the Pagan throne in A.D. 1084.² In another instance we find that Asaṅkhyā, a minister of King Nātoṇmyā, described some of his slaves in A.D. 1216 as:

// i y kywon (13 sa kā) mañ Sinkhāpicañ phlac so Pyamikhī sā plac pā ruy Taway lyac so // Pukamī rok khyla(n hū ruy ra) so Calañ kywon te // Phun Sañ Asaṅkhyā mañ pan rakā Pyamikhī sā le Pukamī rok e, // Pukamī rok (so) Phun Sañ Asaṅkhyā Pyamikhī sā kywon ra sate //³

As for these thirteen slaves they are Calañ slaves of the son of (Prince) Pyamikhī who joined in the sin (i.e. rebellion) of Prince Sinkhāpicañ and (fled) to Taway. (As he) wanted to return to Pukamī the honourable Asaṅkhyā asked pardon from the king. Pyamikhī's son therefore came back to Pukamī. On reaching Pukamī the slaves of Pyamikhī's son were handed over to the honourable Asaṅkhyā.

With this information it is possible to reconstruct the scene as follows. Nātoṇmyā the son and successor of Caṅsū II was born of a lesser queen. Therefore he would have had less claim to the throne than his half brothers born of royal mothers. Perhaps Caṅsū II made him his successor because of some outstanding ability superseding other sons of more princely blood. This probably caused a great deal of resentment because soon after Nātoṇmyā's accession many rebellions broke out which he suppressed with the aid of his five ministers

1. Pl. 79a¹⁻¹³, Pl. 79b⁵²

2. *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, IB 25-8, pp. 116-17

3. Pl. 4213-16

one of whom was Asaṅkhyā. When peace was restored Nātoṇmyā rewarded his ministers handsomely for their services. As his share Asaṅkhyā received the estates of Pyamkhi's son who was implicated in Siṅkhipicāṇ's rebellion and had fled to Taway. Owing to Asaṅkhyā's intervention the King pardoned him and allowed him to return to Pagan. But his estate was confiscated and as we have said bestowed on Asaṅkhyā.

We have a similar story¹ when King Klacwā (1235-? 49) succeeded his brother to the throne. Perhaps his nephews (the late king's sons) disputed the succession. Two brothers Siṅhapikramī and Sirivadhanā rebelled and were defeated but they escaped. On Sunday, 8 June 1236, when King Klacwā was giving an audience at Kwan Prok Nay - the Small Variegated Hall, Siṅhapikramī's wife requested the king to forgive her husband and allow him to return to Pagan. The king forgave the prince but confiscated his "slaves, fields and gardens" and gave them to Queen Caw², very possibly the queen of his predecessor and brother King Narasīṅgha-Uccanā (?1231-5).

From the above we gather that the king confiscated slaves of rebels and gave them away to whomsoever he pleased and therefore these slaves cannot be classed as war captives turned into slaves, but they may safely be termed spoils of war.

There are a few direct evidences of the slave trade in our period. The donors making dedication of slaves to religious establishments very often mentioned the prices they paid for the slaves. Nā Khyat Saṅ Myak Mañ bought eleven slaves in A.D. 1214 and gave the details as

... kywan yokyā krī 7 yok // yokyā nāy 4 yok apōn kywan 11 yok aphuiw nuy 330
khin piy e, // ³

(For the price of) seven adult male slaves (and) four young male slaves altogether
11 slaves three hundred and thirty of silver are weighed and given.

This gives us an average price of thirty ticals of silver for a male slave. In A.D. 1223 the same gentleman bought another four slaves at the price of 120 ticals of silver⁴, and one at 35 ticals of silver.⁵ Then he made a real bargain when he bought seven slaves for 140 ticals. It was recorded as :

Toṇplun hi so panthyan, nī sā ta up so kuiw aphuiw nuy 140 piy so ⁶

the whole group of brothers and sons of the goldsmith living at Toṇplun at the price of 140 silver.

In exchange for his boat Kramū⁷ he received from the Sukhamin, the Saṅkri of Sacchim the slave Nā Khyam.⁸ Lastly he bought nineteen slaves at 570, i.e. 30 ticals each.⁹

1. Pl. 234^{51.4}

2. Mother of King Uccanā and grandmothers of King Tarukpiy

3. Pl. 75a^{4.6}

4. Pl. 75a^{22.5}

5. Pl. 75e³⁰

6. Pl. 75a^{40.1}

7. Kramū—areca palm (see *BRSFAP*, II, p. 352 n. 64)

8. Pl. 75a^{45.6}

9. Pl. 75a^{57.6}

Paddy and copper were also used as mediums of exchange in addition to silver in those days. Thus when in A.D. 1226 Anantasū's wife bought twenty slaves she said:

*kywan 20 so aphuiw nuy khin piy so nuy kā nā krañ kriy phlā 300 nuy pyān 200 //
apōn 500 khin piy e, //*¹

(For the) price of twenty slaves 300 of nā krañ white copper and 200 of pure silver, together 500 are weighed and given.

In A.D. 1301 Queen Caw bought a potter Nā Ōñ and a gardener Nā Koñ at thirty ticals of silver and twenty viss of copper respectively. As kappikā - personal attendant, to the most reverend Mlat Kri Nhakpactōñ she bought Nā Kumkay paying twenty baskets of paddy and three viss of copper for him.³ We also find that sometimes slaves were given away in exchange of elephants and horses. In A.D. 1164 a gentleman Krañ Cañ gave sixty six Indian slaves in exchange for an elephant and forty for a horse.⁴ It must have been an exceptionally good horse to have cost forty slaves. In A.D. 1230, the wife of Supharac gave fifty domestic slaves for an elephant.⁵ In A.D. 1249, minister Jeyyapikrami recorded that he exchanged areca palm trees for some slaves at the rate of ten palms per slave.⁶ A concubine from Marhak once (A.D. 1243) dedicated her slaves to a pagoda and after reflection she dedicated one hundred ticals of pure silver to the pagoda as the price of a slave woman whom she had already dedicated and then wanted to set free.⁷ But we cannot say that one hundred ticals of silver is the standard rate of redemption. The pious lady was buying the slave from the pagoda and it is almost certain that she was being very generous and charitable. When the slave Nā Ōñ Cañ who was fortunate enough to save money and redeemed himself, he paid his master Nā Mum Sañ five viss of copper and became a free man in A.D. 1253.⁸ As it is not unusual even to-day in Burma a donor Rammanā Sañ in his zeal to amass merit spent beyond his means and found himself unable to pay the wages of the sculptor who made the image of Buddha. Thus he had to sell one of his slave women in A.D. 1272. It went on record as:

Iw Lat kuiw purhā plu so purhā samā kuiw lakḥḥa acā asok nā roñ ruy pty sate⁹

I sell *Iw Lat* in order to give food and drink and wages to this image maker.

So a slave would cost approximately from twenty to thirty five ticals in silver or five to twenty viss in copper or twenty baskets of paddy plus three viss of copper, while fifty to sixty six slaves are exchanged with an elephant, forty with a horse and one with a boat. A slave could redeem himself for a little as five viss of copper but the price for redeeming a

1. Pl. 774.⁵

2. Pl. 3924.¹²

3. Pl. 3925.⁰

4. Pl. 94b^{15, 14}

5. Pl. 1565.⁴

6. Pl. 1751.^{e, 17}

7. Pl. 1511.⁸

8. Pl. 182a^{18, 19}

9. Pl. 238.¹⁹

pagoda slave varied enormously. It depended upon the generosity of the redeemer. Though there is no direct evidence of large scale sale of slaves there must have been such instances because we find certain donors dedicating as many as 500 Burmese slaves, 500 Indian slaves, 116 Indian weavers, 850 Mani Sak slaves, etc.¹

We have some instances of runaway slaves. Nā Khyat Sāi whom we have mentioned above, said in one place that he originally intended a dozen slaves for the pagoda but unfortunately one escaped and therefore only eleven were left.² But when his dedication was put on record he stated the grand total dedicated to the pagoda as twelve. Perhaps he was hopeful of recapturing the slave or may be he thought that his intention of dedicating the slave amounted to a fact. In A.D. 1222, when Anantasūra and wife dedicated their garden at the port (saiphawchip) of Yanpuw together with Indian slaves to the pagoda, they summed up thus.

*apon ūyān hi so Kulā krī nāy cum 28 pliy so 2 || apon 30 hi e, ||*³

All Indian slaves both old and young at the garden numbered 28; two (had) escaped. Total 30.

The fact that runaway slaves were recorded in the total of slaves dedicated would suggest that whenever and wherever they were found out they would have to be returned to the establishment to which they belonged.

The lot of slaves does not seem to have been too hard and coupled with it was their probable reluctance to move away from their localities. Slaves were never taken away from their native places and were allowed to follow their own trade or profession. We have no evidence of transferring slaves from place to place. Usually they were attached to the land in their locality⁴ or in the case of professionals, people of the same vocations were grouped together.⁵ Cowherds remained with their cows in their usual pastures⁶. It was only ownership that changed. Towards the end of the dynasty, in A.D. 1266 a whole group of Indian slaves at Yanpuw was recorded as having escaped.⁷ Yanpuw was a port and therefore perhaps was within easy reach of the sea. This proximity to the sea may have tempted them to escape and an uneasy political situation at that time must also have been an added cause. We find mention of two more slaves escaping and in both cases, strange to say the runaways were widows.⁸ A mother also escaped with three daughters.⁹

Merciful owners is one of the outstanding feature of Pagan slavery. When a donor¹⁰ in A.D. 1198 dedicated 567½ pay of land and 228 slaves to the pagoda the majority of these

1. See Pl. 19b⁶, Pl. 164²¹, etc.

2. Pl. 75b³⁰

3. Pl. 76¹⁰

4. Pl. 216 (*passim*)

5. Pl. 144^{22, 23}

6. Pl. 138^{15, 20}

7. Pl. 216³⁵

8. Pl. 376^{15, 21}

9. Pl. 148a¹⁸

10. Pl. 19b^{9, 11}

worked on the lands and served the pagoda with the produce of the said land, but there were also slaves who were skilled artists. They were the leader of the group who was the general supervisor, the firewood cutter, the granary keeper, the dancer or singer and the drummer who in their own skilled ways served the pagoda. To prevent them from going hungry and probably to keep them from the ill usage of the majority, the donor made special provisions for them. Out of the 567½ pay of land dedicated ten were for the supervisors, five for the granary keeper, five for the singer and three for the drummer.

In A.D. 1241 Queen Caw mother of Singhapati and Tryāphyā dedicated 260 pay of land, two gardens and 178 slaves to the pagoda.¹ She left detailed instructions regarding the food supply for slaves who were not connected with the land – the four night-watchmen of the hollow-pagoda and some musicians. They were provided with 135 baskets of paddy annually and thus each got roughly three quarters of a basket except for an old cañsañ (drummer) and an old pantyā (? nautch) who got two baskets each. This shows the donor's kindness and care for details.

The wife of Prince Gaṅgasūra, making a dedication of 511½ pay of land in A.D. 1242 mentioned that 15 pay were for the slaves.² Another Queen Caw, mother of Prince Rājasūra dedicated slaves to the monastery in A.D. 1291 and said:

|| cā chwam̐ nhuik lup kluy so kywan tuiw le phyā nā uiw mañ kha so kā skhñ aryā
tuiw si mrañ ciy sate ||³

When any slave who cooks the daily food for the monks become sick or ill or (feeble with) old age, the monks must know and see (i.e. give proper treatment.)

This is the best security a man could desire against his old age and inability and the Pagan slaves had that security.

There is another piece of evidence showing the liberal mindedness of the slave owners of our period. Very often we find rahan⁴ (monk), pancañ⁵ (? a person who is proficient in the five requisite qualifications) and bhikkhūnī⁶ (a female ascetic) mentioned among lists of slaves. The only explanation we can think of with regard to their presence in the lists of slaves is that they were born of slave parents. The Buddhist Order recognized no class distinction and therefore they could not be slaves as well as members of the Order at the same time. They must have had the permission of their masters first before joining the Order perhaps with the understanding that if and when they left the Order they become slaves again. May be that is why their names were included in the slave lists so that in case they left the Order, they would not be able to deny their birth. Minister Gaṅgābijañ allowed two adults and twenty children of his slaves to become monks and novices and set free ten debtor slaves.⁷

1. Pl. 138^{50.8}

2. Pl. 147⁶²¹

3. Pl. 275^{28.8}

4. Pl. 7⁸, Pl. 174⁵⁵, Pl. 200²², Pl. 211⁵, Pl. 256⁷, Pl. 308⁵⁵, Pl. 376 (*passim*), etc.

5. Pl. 146⁵, Pl. 226¹⁵, Pl. 232^{8,9}

6. Pl. 89²⁷, Pl. 92¹⁴

7. Pl. 308^{51.5}

There were also equally broadminded slave owners who set their slaves free out of sheer kindness. In A.D. 1258 a rich man *Nā Tuñ Pañ Sañ* dedicated nine slaves to the pagoda first and then said:

*Tawli 1 yok || Sarabhi 1 yok || Ya Krwac i y kywan 3 yok kā alwat lhyāñ nā lhwat kha sate ||*¹

I release from all bonds these three slaves (viz.) *Tawli*, *Sarabhi* and *Ya Krwo* (Miss Casket).

Princess *Acaw Lat*, daughter of King *Narasingha-Uccanā* and wife of minister *Jeyyasaddhiy* built a hollow-pagoda in A.D. 1261 and dedicated sixty eight slaves to it. But she also gave another list of fifteen slaves and said:

*...i y mhya sa kywan kā phurhā tryā sañkhā tuw kuw le ma lhu lañ sā achuy amlyuiw tuw kuw le ma piy nā asak hi sā rhuy kā lup ciy so nā ma hi mu kā mrak nu riy krañ hi rā lā ciy sate || ... || i nā lhwat so kywan tuw kuw le lai 1000 piy e ||*²

These slaves—I do not dedicate them to the Lord, the Law and the Order. Nor do (I) give them to (my) husband, children, relatives and friends. May they serve me while I am alive. After my death, they are allowed to go where there is tender grass and clear water³ ... To these slaves whom I had given liberty, I give one thousand *piy* of land.

One cannot help feeling that the princess was exceptionally kind and considerate as she not only freed her slaves but also provided for them. In A.D. 1238, *Nā Puik Sañ* and wife in the presence of notables of the village poured the water of libation and allowed a person 'to seek tender grass and clear water.'⁴ *Tryā Mwan's* wife in A.D. 1267 used the same phrase and set free 190 slaves.⁵ A donor after dedicating eight slaves to a pagoda in A.D. 1294 said to the slaves:

noñ khyam sā nuw ka nīy ma khyam sā nuw ka mrak nu riy krañ, hi rā rā lā⁶

(After a while) if you still hope of comfort by remaining like this (i.e. as pagoda slaves), stay. If you lose hope of comfort seek tender grass and clear water.

So saying he left the matter entirely in the hands of the slaves. They could seek freedom whenever they wished. With ample funds provided by the rich donor and only an image

1. PL 191a¹⁵, 16

2. PL 201a⁹, 11, 14

3. The use of the phrase *mrak nu riy krañ* meaning to seek places where there is tender grass and clear water suggests rather vaguely that the phrase was a relic of the nomadic past.

4. PL 210a⁵, 4

5. PL 217¹⁰, 10, 24, PL 218¹

6. PL 280a⁹, 11

to look after, they decided, perhaps, to remain slaves for ever. That way of life was comparatively easy.¹ Another interesting point that we have noticed in this connection is in an inscription found at the Kyaukgu Onhmin and dated A.D. 1188 in which we read:

// *Uttamapharac nhar man miya Uin Nay Cwan kuiw khaw ray mlay tan kup*
lhyar thuy taw khla e mankrī min e klok cā twar amān hiy so purhā kywan kā sā
mliy acin khapan lwat ciy sate //2

Uttamapharac and *Uin Nay Cwan* the concubine, are summoned (into the royal presence) at *mlay tan kup* - the earth pavilion, and the royal order is passed. The great king said "Pagoda slaves mentioned by name in the stone inscription and their children, grandchildren and posterity, are all released."

This is a royal order to set free pagoda slaves dedicated by others³.

From the above evidence we are under the impression that the lives of pagoda slaves were not unbearable but it is necessary to study their duties before coming to a definite conclusion. Therefore let us now turn our attention to the duties of slaves who were dedicated to pagodas or monasteries. In A.D. 1197, *Jeyyasethiy* dedicated 141 slaves to a pagoda and a monastery, in order that *samput wat* // *chimi wat ma prat cim, so nhā*⁴ - rice food and oil lamps be served without intermission. Slaves whose special duty was to cook rice or food at the monasteries were known as *samput khyak kyon*⁵ or *wat khyak kywan*.⁶ In A.D. 1223 minister *Anantasūra* and his wife made a religious establishment and desired that it should remain for all the five thousand years of the Religion. Therefore slaves were dedicated that

// *anhac kuiwā akha mlan, miay plu phā rac cim, so nhā* // *tanlan lhan cim so nhā* //
purhā tryā nhuik samput // *chimi kwari pan* // *ma prat tan rac cim, so nhā* // *sān*
kham so skhin ariyā tuiw, kuiw chwam pan lup klwan rac cim so nhā // 7

they may go on forever doing the necessary repairs (at the establishment); to sweep the compound; to go on serving the Lord and the Law without intermission with rice food, oil lamps, betel and flowers; to go on serving the patient reverend monks with the flowers of rice food on behalf of the loving couple.

As seen in the above quotation when slaves were dedicated to the pagoda, the donors expressed the desire that they serve the Lord on their behalf by using the phrase *nā kuiw cā* or *mimi kuiw cā*.⁸ Minister *Mahāsman* in A.D. 1255 defined the duties of the slaves of a monastery as:

1. There are many pagoda slaves especially of the Pagan area, who not without reason believed themselves to be the descendants of the pagoda slaves from the period under discussion and elected to remain so when the British came and brought with them the abolition of slavery.
2. Pl. 228b¹⁴, 15
3. Incidentally, one of the first measures taken by the President of the Union of the Republic of Burma in 1948 immediately after independence was to declare all pagoda slaves free. See "Address by His Excellency Sao Shwe Thaik, President of the Union of Burma, to the Members of the Burma Parliament on 4 January 1948", *Burma Independence Celebrations*, Department of Information and Broadcasting, Government of the Union of Burma, 1948, pp. 15-17.
4. Pl. 164.5
5. Pl. 5022
6. Pl. 1862⁶, Pl. 2292¹, Pl. 2399, Pl. 417⁸
7. Pl. 7350.5¹. See also Pl. 8021.2, Pl. 164⁶⁻⁸, Pl. 1977, Pl. 2357.8
8. Pl. 990.10, Pl. 152⁸, Pl. 1645², Pl. 236⁶, 10, Pl. 238⁶, 9, Pl. 248¹¹

// *iy mhya sa kywan kâ aryā saṅghā tuiw kuiw khriy (chiy riy) lak chiy riy khliw riy (sok) riy khapsim so nhā wat khyak cim so tammyak khliw klum cimi so nhā lhū sate*¹

These slaves are to fetch water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and water to drink. They are (also) to cook the rice food, and to sweep and remove the refuse.

In A.D. 1262, a donor dedicated a *laksamā*² – carpenter and another a *panphay*³ – blacksmith, to repair a ruined monastery. Another donor dedicated eleven slaves in the same year so that they may be useful when repairs were needed at his religious establishment.⁴ The duties might vary slightly in detail between the slaves who were attached to the pagoda⁵, the Law⁶, the Order⁷, and the *sima*⁸. Some of the slaves were personal attendants to the head of the monastery.⁹

Apart from the slaves of the religious establishments, we also find the mention of domestic helps who were variously termed as *im kyawan*¹⁰, *im thoñ kywan*¹¹ and *im niy*¹². Slaves of the royal household are called either *kywan taw*¹³ or *mañ im kri sañ*.¹⁴ The mention of a slave wife is very rare and we find it only twice as *kuiw lup*¹⁵ and *kuiw lup kywan miyma*.¹⁶

Another interesting thing about the slaves in the inscriptions is the terms used to describe them. When giving a list of slaves, whenever it is necessary short descriptions appear such as *im thoñ* for the head of the family, *kamay*¹⁷ for a widow, *Ya*¹⁸ as prefix for woman of Mon extraction, *pucu*¹⁹ for young people, *nuiw*, *cuiw*,²⁰ for sucklings, *cātai*²¹ for literates and *sami apluiw ṇay*²² for a young unmarried daughter. There are some terms used as prefixes to the names of both sexes and unfortunately we are still unable to give the right interpretation. They are *mhura*²³, *mrakra*²⁴, *phut*²⁵, and *uiw*, *phukhi*.²⁶ Tentatively, we consider them as overseers or foremen of working groups as *mhura* and *mrakra* suggest that they were employed for some work.

1. Pl. 18627-6
2. Pl. 2617-6
3. Pl. 26124, Pl. 26225
4. Pl. 2256-7
5. Pl. 95, Pl. 2216, 21, Pl. 507-14, Pl. 616, 20, Pl. 114a7-8, Pl. 1305-5, Pl. 131b9, Pl. 1396-9, etc.
6. Pl. 4220, Pl. 190a8, Pl. 22919
7. Pl. 114a7-9, Pl. 127a5, Pl. 16415, Pl. 190a9-11, Pl. 20222, Pl. 21217, 18, 20, Pl. 214b1, etc.
8. Pl. 21215, 16
9. Pl. 22920
10. Pl. 1563, 4
11. Pl. 1815, 7, 10
12. Pl. 228b9
13. Pl. 228b5, 6, 7
14. Pl. 421a2, Pl. 421b15, 17
15. Pl. 140b14
16. Pl. 140b14, 15
17. Pl. 47, 25, Pl. 7342, 45, Pl. 20025, 26, Pl. 2566, 15, 15, Pl. 37515, 17, etc.
18. Pl. 47, 15, etc.
19. Pl. 79, Pl. 7358, 148a21, Pl. 2555, 14, 15, Pl. 3917
20. Pl. 229, Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 742, 7, Pl. 148a8, Pl. 181 (*passim*), Pl. 194 (*passim*), etc.
21. Pl. 76, 9, Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 148a21, Pl. 181 (*passim*), Pl. 201a1, 2, 4, 6, Pl. 2566, 10, 15, etc.
22. Pl. 27011
23. Pl. 7351, 52, 55, 56, Pl. 148a21, Pl. 201a1, 6, 7, Pl. 2569, 14, Pl. 376 (*passim*)
24. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 75 (*passim*), etc.
25. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 74 (*passim*), Pl. 200 (*passim*), etc.
26. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 201a5, Pl. 2567, 10, 12, 15, Pl. 37554, Pl. 376 (*passim*), etc.

Regarding literacy among slaves, let us take three inscriptions dated A.D. 1227,¹ 1235² and 1240³ where the mention of cātat (literate) appears more frequently than in any other inscriptions. In the first inscription we find 78 slaves among whom 9 were literate (five boys and four girls). In the second, there were 116 slaves of whom 8 were literate (only boys). In the third, there were 140 slave of whom 17 were literate (13 boys and 4 girls). Therefore very roughly we should say that 9 per cent of the slaves were literate in those days. It is interesting to note that there were girls among the literates of which they formed a quarter. It is likely that the percentage of literacy increased towards the fall of the Pagan empire.

Slaves were of various nationalities. Naturally most of the slave population consisted of Burmans⁴. Sometimes slaves mentioned as of other nationalities had Burmese names. Next to the Burmans comes the Indian slaves.⁵ A donor in A.D. 1198 dedicated to the pagoda as many as five hundred Indian slaves. A slave called Kulāphlū⁶ - white Indian, appears once. One hundred and twenty eight Kamirami⁷ slaves were dedicated in A.D. 1223. But Kamirami here may not possibly be the name of a people. Thus we are not certain that kamirami here has been used in the ethnic sense. In a list of slaves recorded in an inscription of A.D. 1242 there were thirty one Cakraw⁸ slaves from Caku. Perhaps they were the ancestors of modern Sagaw Karens. There were also Sak people who still survive in Akyab district. A whole village of Sak called Munalon was dedicated in A.D. 1113 according to the Rājakumār inscription⁹ and eight hundred and fifty Sak slaves were mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1248.¹⁰ Thirty Cin¹¹ slaves are dedicated to a pagoda in A.D. 1266 and perhaps there is a link between this Cin and the Chinese. Slaves called Nā Ton Su¹² (Mr. Hillman) appear frequently but Ton Sū¹³ slaves are only mentioned twice. Nā Rakhui¹⁴ (Mr. Arakanese) is a popular name among the slaves. A Syam¹⁵ slave is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1301. Pyu appears often but we find only one instance of a Pyu woodcutter¹⁶ as slave in an inscription. Kantu¹⁷ is also popular as a personal name mostly among woman slaves but it does not appear in its ethnic sense. Ya is a Mon prefix denoting a Mon woman's name and there are some names beginning with Ya. They seem to be Mon slaves. The last in our list are the Krwam¹⁸ - thought to be Cambodians. It mostly appears as a personal name

1. Pl. 73
2. Pl. 181
3. Pl. 376
4. Pl. 196^a, Pl. 65b², Pl. 89¹, Pl. 147b¹¹, Pl. 164²¹, Pl. 368b⁵, etc.
5. Pl. 10¹⁹, 20, Pl. 15¹², Pl. 19b⁶, Pl. 50¹², Pl. 65b², 5, 14, Pl. 68b²², Pl. 76⁴, 10, Pl. 81¹, 12, etc.
6. Pl. 43¹²
7. Pl. 94a⁵⁰; see Luce: "Peoples of Burma", *JBRs*, XLII, i, 73.
8. Pl. 147b¹⁵; see Luce: "Introduction to the Comparative Study of Karen Languages", *JBRs*, XLII, i, 1 & 11.
9. Pl. 362a⁵⁰
10. Pl. 164²¹
11. Pl. 216⁵⁵
12. Pl. 4¹⁶, Pl. 21¹⁶, Pl. 77¹⁴, Pl. 130¹⁴, Pl. 252¹², Pl. 378b⁴
13. Pl. 392¹⁷, Pl. 393¹⁵
14. Pl. 152⁷, Pl. 42¹⁰, Pl. 43⁹, Pl. 117a⁶, Pl. 231b¹⁴
15. Pl. 392²⁶
16. Pl. 393⁵
17. Pl. 29⁴, Pl. 144¹⁵, Pl. 148b⁶, Pl. 392¹⁰, 26, 51
18. Pl. 10a²⁴, Pl. 29¹⁰, Pl. 55a⁷, Pl. 216⁵⁵, 56

except in inscriptions dated A.D. 1241¹ and A.D. 1266.² Thus the slave population of our period had Burmese, ? Cambodian, ? Chinese, Indian, Kadu, Kanyan, Karen, Mon, Pyu, Shan, Taungthu and Thet but the Burmese and Indian slaves formed the majority.

The survey of the slaves of medieval Burma will not be complete without a study of their vocations. Undoubtedly land, cattle and slaves³ went together. For example King *Tarukpiliy* gave *miliy 1000 // kywan 1000 // nwā 1000*⁴ – one thousand (pay of) land, one thousand slaves and one thousand cattle to his wet nurse *Ui Poñ Sañ* soon after his accession to the throne. The vast majority of the slaves would be employed on *san lay* – wet cultivation fields, *muryaṇ lay* – dry cultivation fields, *ryā* – hill-side cultivations, *kuiñ* – kitchen gardens and *uyan* – gardens. But there were also slaves with vocations and these throw some light on the social life of the period. Their professions roughly fall into five categories. Firstly, there are agriculturalists – cultivators, cowherds, etc.; secondly, food suppliers such as cooks; thirdly, craftsmen; fourthly, musicians; and finally, miscellaneous.

In the first category of agriculturalists, *lay sañ*⁵ or *lay su*⁶ – cultivators, tops the list. Then there are *lay uyan coñ*, *kywan*⁷ – slaves watching fields and gardens, *capā cuik kywan*⁸ – slaves to plant paddy and *uyan sañ*⁹ – gardeners. Next comes slaves who look after cattle and poultry and for convenience sake we include here herders of other animals as well. They are *nwā thin*,¹⁰ *klway thin*,¹² *chit thin*,¹³ *chañ thin*,¹⁴ and *wamipay thin*.¹⁵ Queen *Caw* in A.D. 1299 proudly mentioned that among the slaves dedicated to the pagoda was a *nwā kloñ cwan*¹⁶ – expert cowherd, called *Nā Lyon*. The mention of *nwā kloñ* taken in conjunction with other references to *thawpiy*, *thawpat*, *thawpat kī*, *nwā nuiw sañ*, *nuiw ñhat nwā mā*, *nuiw sac* and *nuiw thamim*¹⁷ would strongly suggest that dairy farming was a fairly important industry of the day.

In the second category, there were food suppliers such as cooks, butchers, milkmen, etc. Old Burmans used separate people for cooking rice and for cooking curry and thus they had

1. Pl. 138¹⁹

2. Pl. 216⁵⁶

3. Pl. 20a^{1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10}, Pl. 34⁴, Pl. 83⁶⁻⁷, Pl. 91¹⁴, Pl. 104⁷, Pl. 110⁵⁻⁸, Pl. 115⁶, Pl. 123⁵, etc.

4. Pl. 218a^{4, 7}, Pl. 219b^{4, 7}

5. Pl. 193²⁶

6. Pl. 110⁷

7. Pl. 75a⁵⁵

8. Pl. 75a⁵⁵, Pl. 175², Pl. 200^{21, 27}

9. Pl. 76^{2, 10}, Pl. 181²⁰, Pl. 235^{1, 4}, Pl. 392¹¹

11. Pl. 138^{15, 20}, Pl. 144¹¹, Pl. 152²², Pl. 203¹⁰, Pl. 388a¹², Pl. 423⁵⁹

12. Pl. 734⁷

13. Pl. 153a¹⁸, Pl. 153b⁶, Pl. 394⁴, Pl. 582b⁵

14. Pl. 76^{25, 25, 24, 26}, Pl. 217²⁴, Pl. 257²¹

15. Pl. 183a¹²

16. Pl. 390⁵⁵

17. Pl. 36¹⁸, Pl. 94a⁵⁵, Pl. 134a⁴, Pl. 235⁹, Pl. 376⁵⁴, etc.

*thaman sañ*¹ – rice cooks and *han sañ*² – curry cooks. Perhaps, these slaves were attached to big monastic establishments so that cooking rice alone required an army of slaves. For the domestic cook they had *im thaman khyak*.³ To supply meat they had *amay sañ*⁴ or *may sañ*⁵ – butchers, *sācuiw*⁶ – keepers of game and *muchiwi*⁷ – hunters. *Paik sañ*⁸ or *kwan sañ*⁹ – net men supplied fish. For sweetmeats, there were *nwā nuiw*, *sañ*¹⁰ – the milkmen and *yana, pyāsañ*¹¹ – the honey men. Chewing betel was a regular practice and perhaps demanded specialized service.¹² They had *kwan sañ*¹³, *kwan tau sañ*¹⁴, *kwan si sañ*¹⁵ and *kwan mwan taw sañ*¹⁶ as servers of *kwan yā*¹⁷ – betel quids.

The third category included craftsmen who were builders and decorators of the beautiful Pagan architecture. They were *laksmā*¹⁸ – carpenters, *tacañ sañ*¹⁹ – plane men *paras*²⁰ – masons, as builders; *panpu*²¹ – woodcarvers, *pankhi*²² – painters, *panpwa*²³ – wood-turners, *tan kyat sañ*²⁴ – ? canopy makers as decorators; *ut sañ*²⁵ – brickmakers to supply bricks; *panphay*²⁶ – blacksmiths to supply things made of iron and *athu sañ*²⁷ or *purhā sañ*²⁸ – image makers to supply the images of the Lord. *Thi sañ*²⁹ – umbrella makers manufactured golden umbrellas to spread over the images, etc. These builders, suppliers of building

1. Pl. 361⁶, Pl. 391^{51,52}, Pl. 417¹²

2. Pl. 361⁶, Pl. 391^{50,51}

3. Pl. 110⁶

4. Pl. 391^{55,55}

5. Pl. 153a²², Pl. 153b¹⁰

6. Pl. 361⁶

7. Pl. 71⁷, Pl. 148a¹⁴

8. Pl. 7⁹

9. Pl. 267⁴

10. Pl. 361⁶

11. Pl. 361⁶

12. See *BRSFAP*, II, p. 352, n. 64.

13. Pl. 391^{55,54}

14. Pl. 476¹⁵

15. Pl. 229¹⁶

16. Pl. 742⁶

17. Pl. 139¹¹

18. Pl. 81¹², Pl. 261⁷

19. Pl. 102¹⁴, Pl. 391⁵⁵, Pl. 392²⁴

20. Pl. 682², Pl. 81⁵², Pl. 144⁵, 147b¹⁸

21. Pl. 682², Pl. 81⁶, Pl. 144⁵

22. Pl. 682², Pl. 144⁵

23. Pl. 144^{1,12}, Pl. 392¹⁰, Pl. 575^{2,11}

24. Pl. 194²⁷

25. Pl. 594¹⁵

26. Pl. 682², Pl. 78a⁷, Pl. 102¹⁴, Pl. 153a¹¹, Pl. 261²⁵, Pl. 413^{10,11}

27. Pl. 392¹¹

28. Pl. 391⁵

29. Pl. 148b^{5,6,9}

materials and decorators must have been very busy as the period under survey is sometimes called the period of temple-builders. There were also *panthin*¹ – goldsmiths to make jewellery as well as the spires of temples and pagodas where precious metals and stones were used.

Some artisans made articles of daily use. For pots and pans, there were *uiw thin*² – potters, *kara sañ*³ – jug makers and *lanpānsañ*⁴ – tray makers. For making clothes, there were *khra sañ*⁵ and *khrañ ñay sañ*⁶ – spinners, *pukhrañ sañ*⁷ – loincloth makers, and *yansañ*⁸ weavers. They wove such as *kawthā*, *khainli*, *khruykhām*, *tankyat*, *tanmi prok*, *tuyan*, *pukhrañ*, *puchuiw*, *sakkham*, *sañkan*, *sañpuin*, etc.⁹ There were also *sānāphway*¹⁰ which Professor G. H. Luce suggests were chairmakers. Chairs being not in popular use until European influences were felt in Burma, perhaps it meant cushion makers.

In the third category of musicians, which included players of various musical instruments, the drummers seems to be the most common. Singing and dancing to the drum could have been the most popular musical entertainment that the old Burmans resorted to because there were more slaves employed as *cañ sañ*¹¹ – drummers and *pantyā*¹² – nautes (singers or dancers or both) than any other musician. For singing alone, they had *sikhrañ sañ*¹³ – the singers and for dancing alone, they had *kakhriy sañ*¹⁴ – the dancers. Other musicians were *khara sañ*¹⁵ – trumpeters, *khwakkhwañ sañ*¹⁶ – cymbal players, *candra sañ*¹⁷ – ? dulcimer players, *coñ sañ*¹⁸ – harpists, *ñhañ sañ*¹⁹ – another group of trumpeters together with those who blew *tapuiw*²⁰ – horns and *narañ crā*²¹ – some sort of wind instruments, *noñnan sañ*²² – bell players, *pasā sañ*²³ – side drummers and *saro sañ*²⁴ – ? violinists.

1. Pl. 322, Pl. 75a⁴⁰, Pl. 144¹², Pl. 387a⁹, Pl. 393⁵

2. Pl. 392¹¹

3. Pl. 216⁵⁰

4. Pl. 1642^{5,29}

5. Pl. 391⁵⁶

6. Pl. 391⁵⁴, Pl. 393²⁹

7. Pl. 392⁵⁰

8. Pl. 148b^{5,6}, Pl. 164²¹, Pl. 194⁴⁹, Pl. 216⁵⁵, Pl. 217^{19,25}, Pl. 250¹, Pl. 390²⁴, Pl. 391^{15,22}, Pl. 393^{6,28}

9. Pl. 28a¹⁷, Pl. 28b²⁰, Pl. 362⁵, Pl. 73¹⁵, Pl. 79o^{22,31}, Pl. 97^{16,18,20,22}, Pl. 138^{15,14}, Pl. 212¹⁴, Pl. 309⁵⁴, Pl. 372¹¹, Pl. 393^{18,26}

10. Pl. 195a²⁴. See *JBRs*, XLII, i, p. 72

11. Pl. 9⁸, Pl. 10a^{17,20,22}, P. 15¹¹, etc.

12. Pl. 5^{8,10,15}, Pl. 9⁶, Pl. 10a^{19,21}, etc.

13. Pl. 3¹⁸, Pl. 85⁸, Pl. 421b⁴

14. Pl. 15¹², Pl. 31⁴, Pl. 391⁴

15. Pl. 68²²

16. Pl. 10a¹⁹, Pl. 17¹⁸, Pl. 138^{10,56}, etc.

17. Pl. 85⁸. See U Po Lat: "Union Culture: Its Sources and Contacts," *Burma*, III, i, October 1952, pp. 4-5.

18. Pl. 265⁵⁵

19. Pl. 81²¹, Pl. 396b¹⁸

20. Pl. 367a⁵

21. Pl. 138^{8,51,55}

22. Pl. 17¹⁸, Pl. 367a⁵

23. Pl. 10a¹⁶, Pl. 17²⁰, Pl. 73⁵⁶, etc.

24. Pl. 387a⁵

Lastly, there were slaves of various other vocations. They were *alay sañ*¹ - ?brokers, *uphway sañ*² - coiffeurs, *ka sañ*³ - harness makers, *kuhā sañ*⁴ - launderers, *cākhi*⁵ or *cāriy*⁶ - clerks, *cicoñ*⁷ - keepers of the granary, *chā sañ*⁸ - salt makers, *chañ chum sañ*⁹ - oil producers, *ihan sañ*¹⁰ - wood cutters, *nagā krañ sañ*¹¹ - ?armourers, *pi sañ*¹² - ?salted fish makers, *phattā sañ*¹³ or *bhandā sañ*¹⁴ - ? stewards, *muchit rip*¹⁵ - barbers, *mlon mliy sañ*¹⁶ - ? canal diggers, *rakan sañ*¹⁷ - ?poets, *riy sañ*¹⁸ - water carriers, *lak sañ*¹⁹ - midwives, *lak sañ thuiw*²⁰ - manicurists, *lhañ sañ*²¹ - cartmen, *lhawkā sañ*²² - boat men, *sañkok sañ*²³ - blacksmiths, and *sañrya sañ*²⁴ - palanquin bearers.

Slavery in medieval Burma is different from the modern concept of slavery. Slaves of those times must have found their lot tolerably comfortable. The presence of voluntary slaves explains this. In addition to these voluntary slaves, there were hereditary slaves, debtor slaves and war captive slaves. We have however, no evidence to show the presence of slave raids, piracy and kidnapping. The slave community was considerable and therefore there were slave villages with their own administrative officers as *sūkri*²⁵ - headmen to control the village, *kumthān*²⁶ - to supervise cultivation and *sañkri*²⁷ and *sañrya*²⁸ as village elders. Ownership of slaves often changed but generally the slaves were allowed to remain in their own locality. Perhaps this was one of the causes why runaway slaves were rare. To gain liberty a slave could redeem himself or run away. There is no mention of cruel laws in connection with runaway slaves. The slaves appear to have been quite contented with their lot and the masters were merciful. Some owners set them free and even gave them land

1. Pl. 422a(iii)⁵

2. Pl. 387a⁵

3. Pl. 79b⁶, Pl. 89¹⁵ (*mrañ ka samā*)

4. Pl. 81¹⁷, Pl. 144¹⁴, Pl. 148b^{5,9,10}, Pl. 392^{17,31}

5. Pl. 422⁶, Pl. 89²¹, Pl. 156⁶

6. Pl. 144⁶

7. Pl. 19b¹⁰, Pl. 68¹⁹, Pl. 140b¹ (*ki con*), Pl. 379⁵, Pl. 391²⁰ (*ki sañ*)

8. Pl. 216⁵⁵

9. Pl. 370⁵¹ (*chañ sañ*), Pl. 391²⁶ (*chi sañ*), Pl. 417¹²

10. Pl. 392¹², Pl. 393⁵

11. Pl. 421b⁶

12. Pl. 79b⁶, Pl. 252¹², Pl. 253a⁵

13. Pl. 392⁹

14. Pl. 74¹⁵

15. Pl. 395⁵⁰

16. Pl. 423^{50,51}

17. Pl. 216⁴⁵

18. Pl. 392⁵

19. Pl. 79b⁷

20. Pl. 79b⁶, Pl. 387a²

21. Pl. 392²⁴

22. Pl. 376^{4,8,10,13,14,24}

23. Pl. 138⁵²

24. Pl. 148b^{5,6,8}, Pl. 275¹⁹

25. Pl. 89²², Pl. 148b¹¹

26. Pl. 68¹⁹

27. Pl. 25⁶, Pl. 43¹⁴

28. Pl. 73⁴⁹, Pl. 74⁴, Pl. 226²⁵

APPENDIX I

THE LAND MEASURE

IN the inscriptions of our period, with the exception of a few cases where *namuin*¹ or *tamuin*² are used we find that *pay* is the standard land measure. We do not know the area of a *pay* in the Pagan period but we do know the area of the *Konbaung pay* which is mentioned in the literature of the day.³ The *Manu Kyay Dhammasat*⁴ says that a *pay* is twenty *tā* square where one *tā* is seven cubits long. Another source says that it is twentyfive *tā* square.⁵ *Kri-sai Lethap Charātoau* says that there are two kinds of *pay*, viz. *mañ: pay* – the king's land measure and *chañ: raisā: pay* – the poor man's land measure (also known as *pakati pay* – the normal measure) and that the first is twice the latter.⁶ King Bodawpaya left an inscription of about A.D. 17917 in Amarapura, together with two squares of masonry as a guide for land measures. They are about half a mile south east of the Arakan pagoda, Mandalay. According to Sir George Scott the *ton* – cubit engraved on the stone measures 19.05 inches.⁸ Thus the *pakati pay* which is 25 *tā* square would be 1.77 acres. It is very likely that the *pay* used in our period is the same as the *pakati pay* of Bodawpaya's time.

1. Pl. 242 (*passim*), Pl. 557b2. Perhaps it is a spoonrised Mon word *bhan* meaning ridges in a paddy field like the Burmese *kansān* :
2. Pl. 380⁹, 11
3. References mentioned here are kindly furnished by the Burmese Dictionary Department, School of Oriental and African Studies for which I am deeply grateful.
4. *The Dhammathat or the Laws of Menoo*, (Moulmein 1847) English Translation by D. Richardson, pp. 153-4; *Manu Kyay*, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1903, Part VI, Para xi, p.156
5. *Selections from the Records of the Hluttaw*, (Rangoon, 1960 Reprint) p. 257, n. 83
6. *Jinathapakāsānī*, (Mandalay, 1923) pp. 398-9. See also J. C. Clancey: *Aids to Land Surveying*; Rangoon, BTS Burmese version, 1953, p. 23.
7. List 1261, B, I. pp. 1-2. See also G. Scott: *GUBSS*, I, ii, 167-8. Hmawbi Saya Thein Gyi suggests A.D. 1791 was the date of the inscription. *Pajat Rājawan* (The By-ways of Burmese History), Rangoon, 1958 Reprint, p. 286
8. G. Scott: *GUBSS*, I, ii, 168

APPENDIX II

VOTIVE TABLETS OF BURMA

Votive tablets are a prolific source of the early history of Burma and as such serve as a complement to the material gained from epigraphs. Votive tablets have been found throughout Burma from as far north as Nwatale Ywazo near the confluence of the Irrawaddy and Shweli Rivers to as far south as Mergui. But until a large number of such tablets had been collected and a description of them together with facsimile reproductions were published a historical study based on them was not possible. Thus material from the votive tablets was not available at the time of writing or revising this book. But when this book was about halfway through the press Thiripyanchi U Mya, Officer on Special Duty, Archaeological Survey of Burma, published a book - *Votive Tablets of Burma* in two parts with the aid of the Asia Foundation.¹ Part I deals with the tablets of the Pagan period (118 illustrations) covering the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D. and Part II with tablets of the Pyu (90 illustrations) from about the 5th to the 11th centuries A.D. U Mya's reason for this reversal of the chronological order is that a knowledge of the Pagan tablets are necessary for the more difficult study of the Pyu ones.

Cetiya means a sepulchral monument but with its extended meaning it includes *sārīrīka* (bodily relics of the Buddha), *paribhoga cetiya* (a thing used by the Buddha), *uddissana* (a thing made sacred by dedication) and *dhamma cetiya* (a memorial in honour of the Law). *Uddissana* again is of many varieties - the images of the Buddha made in various postures as suggested by his life stories form the major kind of *uddissana* and so too are the votive tablets.

Clay tablets of the Buddha or Bodhisattva in relief made by means of moulds² are usually baked.³ These moulds were either imported from India or made locally.⁴ These tablets⁵ probably originated from the pilgrims bringing back mementos from such places as Kapilavastu,⁶ Budh Gaya,⁷ Banaras,⁸ Kusinagara⁹ or any other place associated with the life of the Buddha. These souvenirs inspired the people of Buddhist lands outside India to make votive tablets locally as a means of acquiring merit. Most donors cannot cast bronze images or carve wooden or stone statues themselves with their own hands but they could make thousands of tablets by just pressing down the stamp on lumps of potter's clay and

1. Rangoon University Press, September and December 1961

2. Some of these moulds are shown in U Mya: *Votive Tablets of Burma*, I, Figs. 114, 115, 116, 117 and 118.

3. In Thailand the tablets were not always baked. See G. Coédès. "Siamese Votive Tablets", (Tr. by W. A. Graham), *SSFACP*, 1, (pp. 150-87) p. 156.

4. *ASI*, 1905-06, p. 170

5. Myepōnpaya and Okkhwak in Burmese and Brah Bimb in Thai

6. The original home of the Buddha

7. The place of Enlightenment

8. The place where the first sermon was preached

9. The place of the great decease

write their names on the reverse together with the boon they craved as a result of these meritorious acts. The act of pressing clay tablets perhaps gave them a great deal of personal satisfaction because they have done something directly for the Buddha – a satisfaction which they may not have had by just building a pagoda, monastery, etc. which was done by the hands of artisans. A Burmese record of Bodawpaya's time (1781-1819) mentions that the King made as many as 512,028 tablets to be enshrined in the relic chambers of four pagodas built at the four corners of the new royal city of Amarapura.¹

Professor G. Coëdès was of the opinion that the practice of making clay votive tablets was confined only to the Buddhists.² But seals and moulds of Brahmanical deities and symbols have been found –

Mahākālī from *Nālandā* of the late Gupta period³ (6th century A.D.),

Śivaliṅga from *Kālaṅjara* in Bundelkhand,⁴

Śiva in the *Bhadreśvara* aspect also from *Kālaṅjara*,⁵

Gaṇeśa from *Nālandā*,⁶

Garuda from *Nālandā* of the reign of *Kumāra Gupta I* (c.415-54)⁷ and

Mahīśāsura *mardini* cast from a mould belonging to the early Chalukya dynasty (550-642) found at Peshwar.⁸

The above mentioned finds prove that clay tablets were also used by devotees of Hinduism. Usually these tablets have some sort of writing on them.

The writing embossed on the obverse below the Buddha's throne is mostly in a south Indian script on the 5th century A.D. or later. It is almost invariably the famous stanza uttered by *Assaji* when he told *Sāriputta* the keynote of the Buddha's teaching. It runs:

*ye dhammā hetuppabuvā tesāṃ hetuṃ Tathāgato āha tesāṃ ca yo nirodho, evaṃivādī Mahāsamaṇo.*⁹

The conditions which arise from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has stated the cause, also the way of suppressing these same: this is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.¹⁰

In this stanza we have the essence of Buddhism which had the power of converting *Sāriputta* to Buddhism. Perhaps this is the reason why it is used in propagating the Religion. The style of writing the letters in this stanza varied with the times and this coupled with the style of writing on the reverse mentioning the name of the donor helps one to ascertain the date of the tablet.

The Burma votive tablets belong from the 5th to the 15th centuries A.D. Their find spots are shown in the accompanying map. The size and shape of these tablets vary very

1. *Ame-toauphre* (*Mon:thon's* Answers to the King's Queries). Mandalay, Jambū, mitchwe Pīṭaka Press, 1961, p. 43

2. *SSFACP*, I, pp. 150-1

3. Jitendra Nath Banerjee: *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, University of Calcutta, 1956 Second Edition p. 187 and Pl. XI, no. 11

4. *Ibid.*, p. 183 and Pl. XI, no. 10

5. *Ibid.*, p. 184 and Pl. XI, no. 9

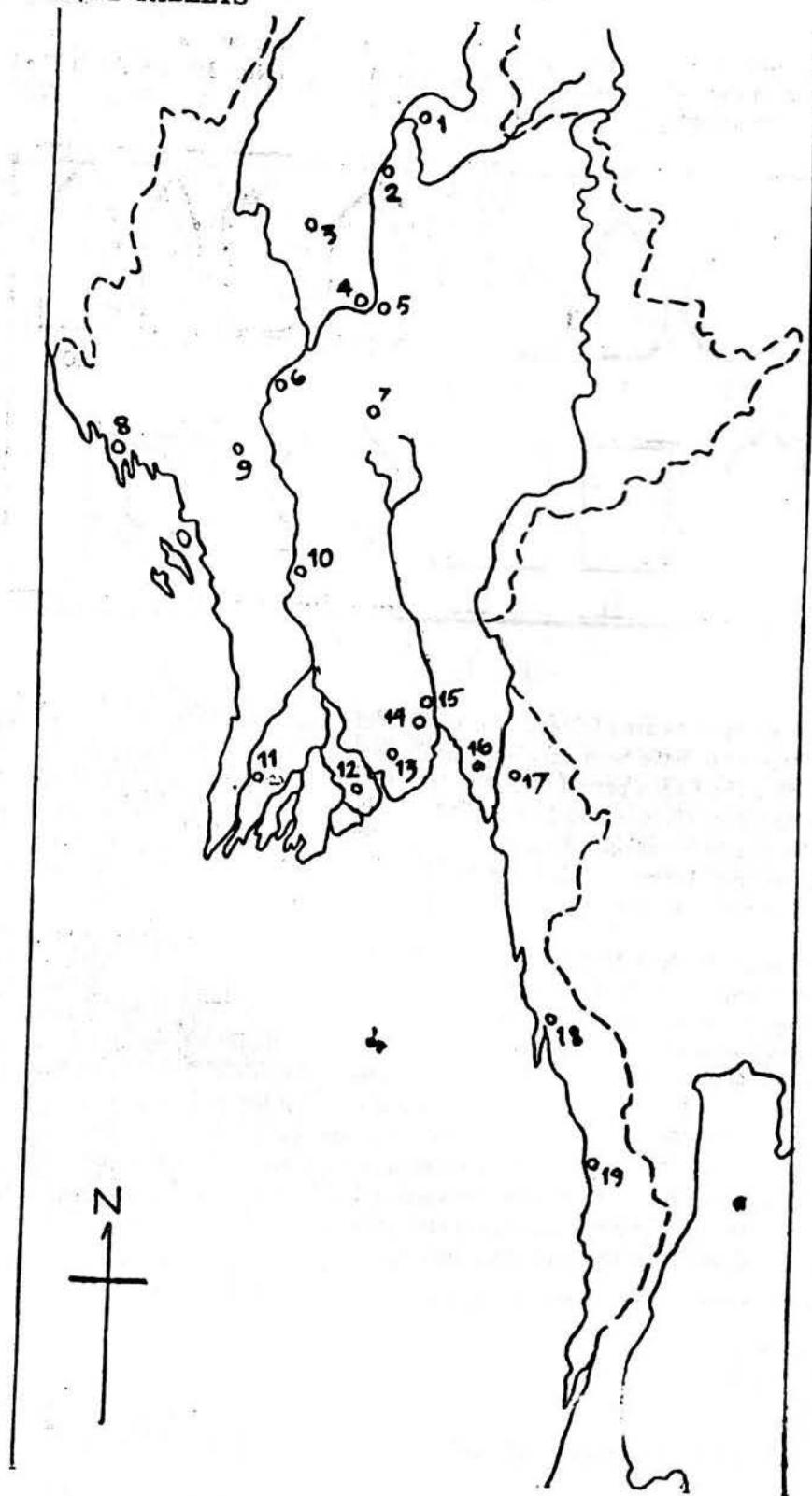
6. *Ibid.*, p. 187 and Pl. X, no. 12

7. *Ibid.*, p. 532 and Pl. XXVIII, no. 1

8. *Ibid.*, p. 500 and Pl. XLII, no. 1

9. *DPPN*, I, 224

10. *SSFACP*, I, 154



MAP IV

THE FIND SPOTS OF THE VOTIVE TABLETS: 1. Nwatale of Nga-O, 2. Tagaung, 3. Ye-U (Chantha), 4. Sagaing, 5. Mandalay, 6. Pagan, 7. Thazi (Sameitshe), 8. Akyab, 9. Salin (Phaunglin), 10. Prome (Hwawza), 11. Bassein 12. Twante (Sanywa), 13. Rangoon, 14. Pegu, 15. Wo (Kyontu), 16. Thaton, 17. Pha-an (Kawgun), 18. Tavoy, 19. Mergui

much. They range from $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter to $1' 5" \times 2' 7" \times 6"$. There are about seventeen different shapes of which the most common is either the fig leaf (No. 3)¹ or the arched window (No. 10).² The seventeen are as follows:

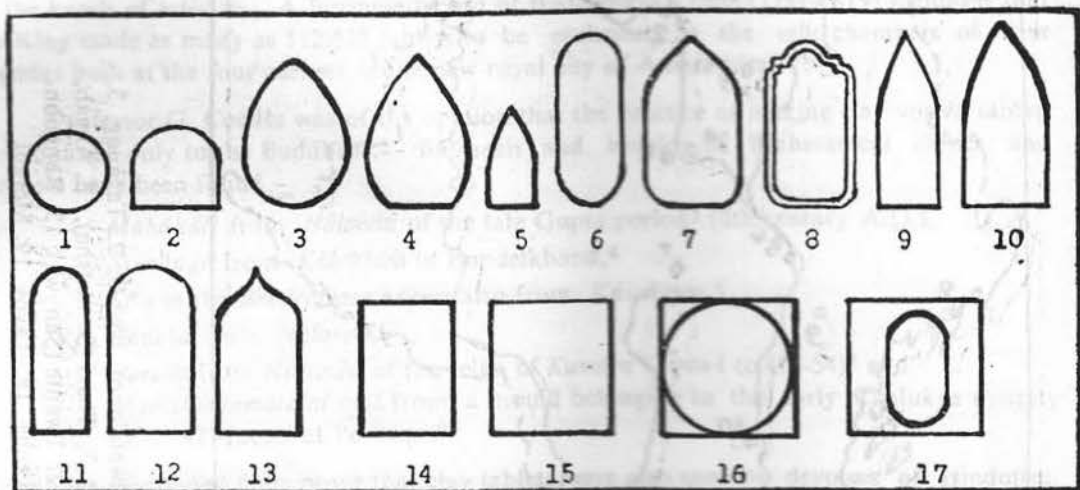


Fig. 1.

Out of 160 tablets surveyed 44 are of shape No. 3 (fig leaf) and 57 of shape No. 10 (arched window). No. 3 seems to have been very popular during Pyu times from the 5th to the 9th century and No. 10 in the Pagan period from the 10th to the 13th century. The third and fourth shapes in frequency (Nos. 1 and 2) are almost confined to the Pyu times. We find only one each from the later period. In size, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are much smaller than No. 10 which is about three times bigger. This indicates that people of the later periods preferred larger tablets. They even had some which were $1' 5" \times 2' 7" \times 6"$.

The central figure of the tablet is usually the Buddha and the earliest known one is the relief on a silver reliquary with bodhi *maṇḍala* i.e. made in the shape of a bodhi tree standing on a circular mound, which has four sitting figures of the Buddha in the *bhūmiṣpaśa mudrā* (earth touching attitude) and four standing monks⁴ – one Buddha between two monks. The upper rim of the reliquary has an inscription in the south Indian script of the 5th century and therefore it is taken to be of a relic of the 5th century.⁵ But the reliquary is similar to those of Kanishka and Bīmarān⁶ of the 2nd century A.D. though the folds of the robe are not as clearly visible on the Buddha of the Pyu casket as in the Kanishka one. The icon on the Pyu casket has a round face with plump cheeks, short neck and a massive body with only a slight protuberance for the *uṣṇīṣa* (hairknot) and snail shells for the hair. The facial expression is quite different from those of the Pagan period.

1. $2" \times 3\frac{1}{2}"$ VTB, I, 53

2. $5" \times 7\frac{1}{2}"$ VTB, I, 50

3. VTB, I, 12ab

4. VTB, II, 1

5. VTB, I, p. 12

6. See Benjamin Rowland: *The Art and Architecture of India*. Pelican History of Art Series, 1936. Pl. 38ab

In contrast to the image of the Pyu period, a Buddha of the Pagan period¹ and the *tanikai* (backpart of the seat) are described in detail by U Mya as follows.² The Buddha sits on a lotus seat in *dyānāsana* – crosslegged with both soles turned up and in *bhūmiṣparśa mudrā* – the earth touching attitude calling upon the Earth to bear witness or *bhūy tañ nā khyā* – the left arm folded with the right arm hanging down. The almond shape eyes look straight ahead. The nose is quite prominent but the stern expression of the face is softened by the smiling lips. The right arm extends downward with a slight bend at the elbow. The fingers touching earth have varying lengths as those of an ordinary man. The palm of the left hand is spread between the two heels with a pleated end of the robe falling over it. *Ūṇā* (the whorl of hair on the brow) is just a dot. *Uṣṇiṣa* (the protuberance on the head) tapers into a lotus bud. The protrusion however does not begin from the middle but from the back part of the head. In addition to this, the *uṣṇiṣa* is small for the body. The ear lobes do not touch the shoulders.³ The forehead is high and the neck is slender. The torso is probably of the Lion Type which is explained as “the chest is massive and corpulent, the waist slim”. The *ekaccika saṅghāṭī* (the upper garment) covers only the left shoulder and the pleated end of the robe on this shoulder which usually stops just above the nipple is not shown in this figure at all. The robe is so thin that the navel is quite discernable. There are no longer any folds

in the robe as in the figures of the Pyu period.⁴ The *Padmāsana* or *krā pallāṇ* (Lotus Throne), stands out in high relief. The halo has beads around it suggesting spreading rays. A horizontal line runs at the level of the shoulder and its ends curl up into the horns of a *makara* (sea monster). Two *hanisā* (geese) sit on this line and their spreading tails merge into the beads of the halo. Beads also go round the Buddha in a beautiful curve. The *calac* (pediment) stands on two *pwat tuñ* (polished pillars) with a semi circular double rimmed top and three tiers. The *kwam:thoñ* (? *sikhara* – pinnacle) is like a drum with floral decorations. It is in three layers. The *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan) tops the drum. These are crowned with a small *cetiya* from which two streamers fly in graceful curves. The whole top which is known as the *sikhara* looks like the *Mahābodhi* stupa of Budh Gaya. (Fig. 2) On each side

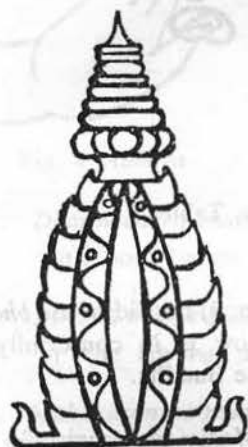


Fig. 2 *Sikhara* (from VTB, 1, 1)

of the *sikhara* grow bodhi trees and two lotus buds hang from the pillars that stand on either side of the Buddha.

There is a beaded border and the whole scene depicts the Enlightenment of the Buddha. Immediately below the lotus seat are two lines of embossed *Nāgarī* letters giving the famous stanza of *ye dharmā*. The reverse has King *Aniruddha*'s name and prayer (Fig. 3) written in a cursive hand perhaps at the time when the tablet was made. It says:

1. VTB, 1, 1

2. VTB, 1, pp. 3-5

3. See A.B. Griswold: *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam*. Ascona. Artibus Asiae. 1957, p. 71, No. 5 top right.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 32

5. VTR II 12

Eso bhagavā Mahārāja Siri Aniruddhadevena kato vimuttattham sahatthe ne vāti.

Desiring that he may be freed from *saṃsāra*, the Great Prosperous King *Aniruddha* himself made this image of the Lord.

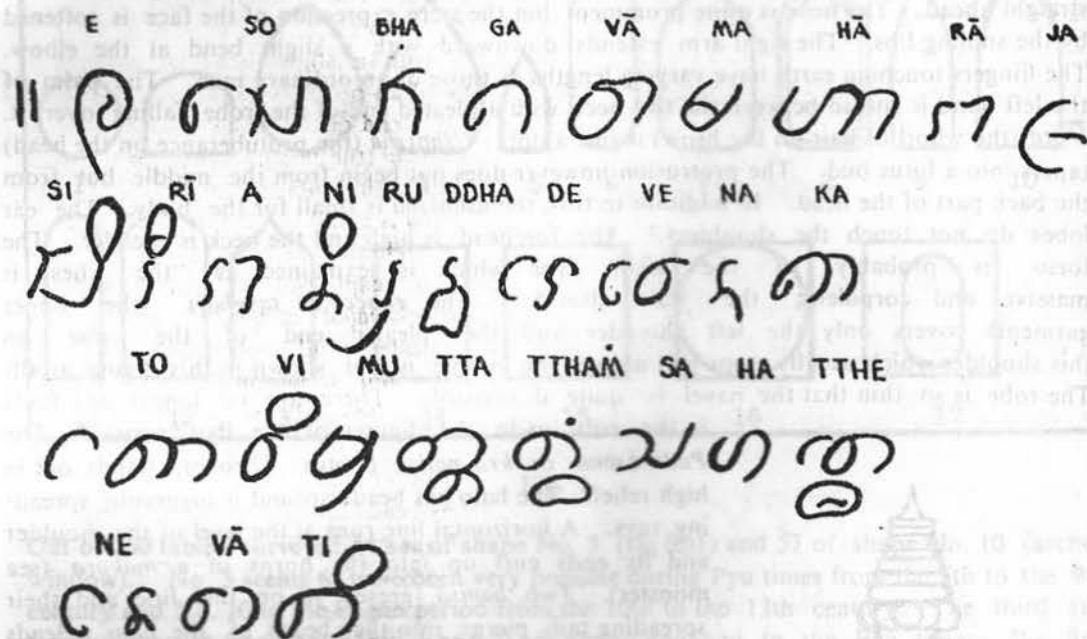


Fig. 3 The writing on the reverse of *Aniruddha's* Tablet

In another tablet of *Aniruddha*, we have *eso lokanātho* (VTB, I, 3, p. 9) instead of *eso bhagavā*. This indicates Mahāyanism. But his prayer which is given below is in conformity with Hinayanism as he only wanted *nirvāṇa* when *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha.

mayā Niruḍdhadevena kirtam sugata sañjakam, tena Meaitreya manivodho labhe yan nirvartto padam. (VTB, I, 5, p. 11)

He was not ambitious to become the Buddha himself like *Thiluin Man*. (VTB, I, 41, p. 29) Another king who followed suit was *Vajrābharaṇa* (? 1077-89) (VTB, I, 37, p. 27). Queen *Trilokavataṃsakā* also prayed for *nirvāṇa*. (VTB, I, 42, pp. 30-1).

The Buddha images are made in various *mudrā* (hand positions) and *āsana* (feet positions)¹. Ten hand positions have been observed in the figures varying from the Buddha and Bodhisattva to the disciples and devotees. They are :

1. Most of the illustrations given here are from Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, F.K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958 Reprint and Antoinette K. Gordon: *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamism*, Tokyo, 1959 Edition.

1. *Abhaya mudrā*—the attitude of protection or the blessing of fearlessness, where a slightly bent right arm is raised to the breast level with all fingers extended and the palm showing outward (Fig. 4) (VTB, I, 63; VTB, II, 54, 77)
2. *Ālīngana mudrā* — attitude of embrace (VTB, II, 31, 32)
3. *Añjali mudrā* — salutation, with both arms stretched upward above the head. Some scholars take it to be a prayer attitude with clasped hands (Fig. 5) (VTB, II, 41)
4. *Bhūmiṣpaṣa mudrā* — witness or earthtouching attitude, which is in fact calling upon the Earth to bear witness when Māra came to attack the Buddha immediately after the Enlightenment. The right arm is pendant over the right knee with the palm turned inward and all fingers touching the *Padmāsana* (Lotus Throne). (Fig. 6)

Fig. 4 *Abhaya*Fig. 5 *Añjali*Fig. 6 *Bhūmiṣpaṣa*

5. *Dharmacakra mudrā* (*Vyākhyāna mudrā*) — preaching or turning the wheel of Law with both hands against the breast, the left covering the right hand (Fig. 7)
6. *Dhyānā mudrā* (*Samādhi mudrā*) — meditation, where both hands (right on left) lie in the lap with all fingers extended and palms up (Fig. 8) (VTB, I, 89; VTB, II, 2, 8)
7. *Mahākāruṇika mudrā*—compassion, with left hand pressed against the breast (Fig. 9) (VTB, I, 63, 104)

Fig. 7
Dharmacakra (*Vyākhyāna*)Fig. 8
Dhyānā (*Samādhi*)Fig. 9
Mahākāruṇika

8. *Namaskāra mudrā* — prayer, with both hands at the breast in an attitude of prayer (Fig. 10) (VTB, I, 63,74,108; VTB, II, 19, 40)
9. *Varada mudrā* (*Vara mudrā*) — charity or gift bestowing, where the arm is pendant with all fingers extended downward and the palm turned outward (Fig. 11) (VTB, I, 50,51; VTB, II, 24,28)
10. *Vitarka mudrā* — argument, where the arm is bent with all fingers extended except the index finger which touches the thumb (Fig. 12) (VTB, I, 93; VTB, II, 3,49)

Fig. 10 *Namaskāra*Fig. 11 *Varada* (*Vara*)Fig. 12 *Vitarka*

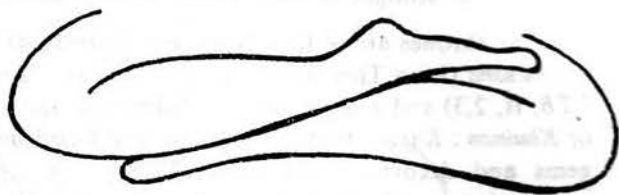
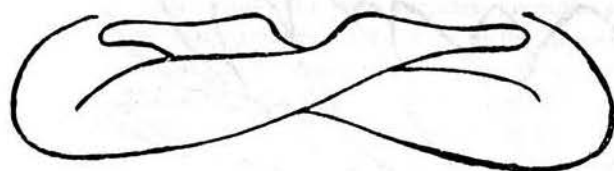
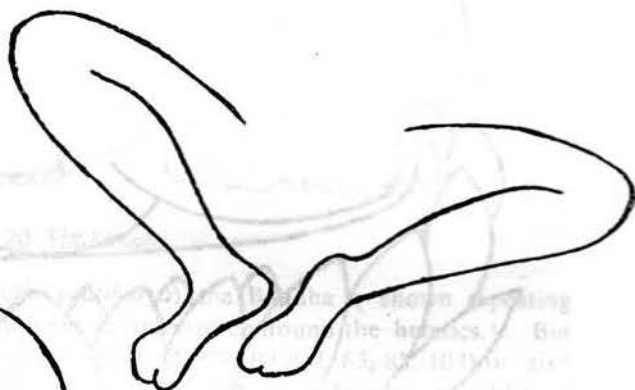
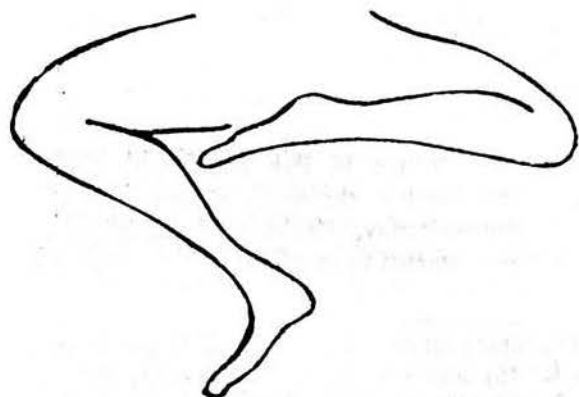
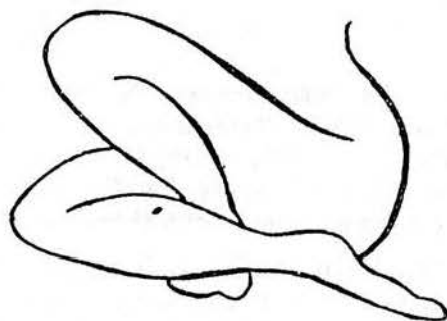
During the Pyu period a number of *mudrā* were used — *bhūmiṣparśa mudrā* was the most popular, then *dharmacakra*, *dhyānā*, *varada*, *namaskāra*, *abhaya*, *ālīṅgana*, *añjali* and *vitarka* but none of *mahākāraṇika* and *mahāparinivāṇa*. In Pagan times the *bhūmiṣparśa* was still the most popular, next comes the *dharmacakra*, *mahāparinivāṇa*, *varada* and *namaskāra*. There were very few of *abhaya*, *dhyānā*, *mahākāraṇika* and *vitarka*.

Regarding *āsana* (feet positions), we find eight varieties in the votive tablets of Burma. They are :

1. *Āliḍhāsana* — standing in the attitude of drawing the bow, with the left foot forward and the leg slightly bent and the right leg straight. It signifies heroism.
2. *Bhadrāsana*¹ — sitting with both legs pendant (Fig. 13) (VTB, I, 13,45; VTB, II, 8,53)
3. *Dhyānāsana* — meditative pose, with legs closely locked and soles of both feet visible. It signifies meditation and introspection (Fig. 14) (VTB, I, 1,4; VTB, II, 10,11)
4. *Lalitāsana* — sitting in ease, with one leg pendant, sometimes supported by a lotus flower (Fig. 15) (VTB, I, 2,6; VTB, II, 34,64)
5. *Paryāṅkasana* — sitting cross legged, with the left leg above the right. It signifies serenity (Fig. 16) (VTB, I, 86,105; VTB, II, 1,2)
6. *Pratyāliḍhāsana* — standing, with the left leg straight and right leg slightly forward and bent. It signifies displeasure.
7. *Rājaliḍāsana* — royal ease with the right knee raised and left leg folded loosely. (Fig. 17) (VTB, II, 16,40)

1. See Shri P. M. Lad (Ed): *The Way of the Buddha*, Bombay, Ministry of Information, 1957, p. 193, III. No. 12

8. *Virāsana*—one knee raised and the foot locked in the bend of the other. It usually goes together with the *namaskāra mudrā* where the palms of the hands are joined in the prayer attitude (Fig. 18) (VTB, II, 28,83)

Fig. 13 *Bhadrāsana*Fig. 16 *Paryāṅkasana*Fig. 14. *Dhyānāsana*Fig. 17 *Rājālīlāsana*Fig. 15 *Lalitāsana*Fig. 18 *Virāsana*

Paryāṅkasana was the most popular *āsana* in the Pyu times. The next in frequency was *dhyānāsana* followed by *bhadrāsana*, *lalitāsana*, *rājālīlāsana* and *virāsana*. In the Pagan period the most popular was *dhyānāsana*, then *bhadrāsana*, *lalitāsana* and lastly *paryāṅkasana*. It was quite evident that *bhadrāsana* was not as scarce in Burma as most people seemed to have

believed. Here a word of caution is necessary. The standing Buddhas are not exactly in the *ālīḍhāsana* (stepping left) or in the *pratyālīḍhāsana* (stepping right). The Buddha stands either straight or slightly bent in a graceful *tribhaṅga*.

The thrones are of four types, viz. *Padmāsana* (Lotus Throne) (VTB, I, 2, VTB, II, 1, 14) *Simhāsana* (Lion Throne) (VTB, II, 8, 75, 76), *Vajrāsana* (Diamond Throne) VTB, I, 67, 75, VTB, II, 2, 3) and a mixed one of *Padmāsana* and *Vajrāsana*. What U Mya calls *Pro, pallāṇ* or *Khuinān*: *Khyui*: *pallāṇ* is perhaps the *Vajrāsana* of many sides studded with precious gems and decorated with floral designs. A standing figure like *Dīpaṅkarā* or the Buddha performing *yamakā prātihārya* (the Great Miracle at *Śrāvastī*)¹ also stands on the *Padmāsana*. As a matter of fact the Buddha or Bodhisattva is supposed to be sitting directly on the lotus or lion as shown in Figures 19 and 20 but the artists have stylized the seats so that the lotus or the lion appear only as a part of the decorative motif.



Fig. 19 *Padmāsana*

The *Padmāsana* was the most popular of the thrones in Pyu and Pagan times. But the Pagan Burman was more partial to the double throne — *Padmā-vajrāsana* (VTB, I, 6, 11, VTB, II, 10, 11) than the Pyu. In Burma today, *Vajrāsana* is used almost exclusively. It will be very interesting to know when it started to gain popularity. For the periods under survey, *Padmāsana* tops the list.

Some tablets have many Buddhas sitting in the same posture. The number of figures ranges from three (VTB, I, 6, 42) to one hundred (VTB, I, 43, 46) and even more (VTB, I, 109). Tablets depicting the Great Miracle at *Śrāvastī* (where many Buddhas are shown sitting and standing in various *mudrā*) are common to the Pyu and Pagan periods while the tablets each having many sitting Buddhas belong exclusively to the latter. We find tablets with three, five, ten, twenty-eight, thirty, fifty, eighty-six (VTB, II, 57), one hundred and one hundred and two Buddhas.

1. See *W of B*, p. 94, III. No. 30.

Fig. 20 *Sinihāsana*

In performing the twin miracles (*yamaka prātihārya*), the Buddha is shown repeating himself in many images reaching up to the heavens in order to confound the heretics.¹ But the Burma tablets showing this, have only three (*VTB*, II, 28, 77; *VTB*, I, 63, 88, 104) or six² (*VTB*, II, 53, 54) Buddhas on each tablet. The tablet described by U Mya as the tablet of the Palace scene (*VTB*, II, 56) probably is another tablet of the miracle. A tablet with seventeen figures of the Buddha (*VTB*, I, 113) is perhaps another tablet of this category but we will deal with it later. According to George Coédès, the Great Miracle is the most popular subject of the votive tablets of Thailand and the oldest specimen dates back to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.³ The Great Miracle tablets in Burma seem to owe their origin to peoples living to the east of Burma. The *Cammadevivāṃsa* written in the 15th century by *Bodhiramī* says that as a result of the epidemic that broke out at *Haribhuñja* in the 11th century some of its people took refuge at Pegu.⁴ The *Kalyāṇī* inscription⁵ says that some Cambodian war captives were given quarters at *Lakkhiyapura* (near Dala). Therefore U Mya suggests that these tablets of the great miracle were either imported from Thailand or were made locally by people who had some connection with Thailand.⁶ Thai influenced tablets have been found at Tadagale,⁷ Rangoon (*VTB*, I, 88), Pegu (*VTB*, I, 89, 93, 94, 95), Kawgun,⁸ Pha-an (*VTB*, I, 90, 91, 92), and Hmawza, Prome (*VTB*, II, 53, 54).

1. See *W of B*, p. 93, Ill. No. 29; p. 94, Ill. No. 30 and Anil de Silva-Vigier: *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1955, Pl. 94.

2. See *SSFACP*, I, 174, Pl. II top right and R. C. Temple: *Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa*, Bombay, Education Society's Steam Press, 1894, Pl. XVI, top night.

3. *SSFACP*, I, p. 156

4. *VTB*, I, p. 62

5. *The Kalyāṇī Inscription*, Ed. by Taw Sein Ko, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1892, p. 57 (Reverse face of the first stone); Ed. by Lu Pe Win, Rangoon, Ministry of Culture, 1958, p. 57; *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, 196-7, and *JBRs*, XII, i, 39-45 (Cambodian Invasion).

6. *VTB*, I, p. 62

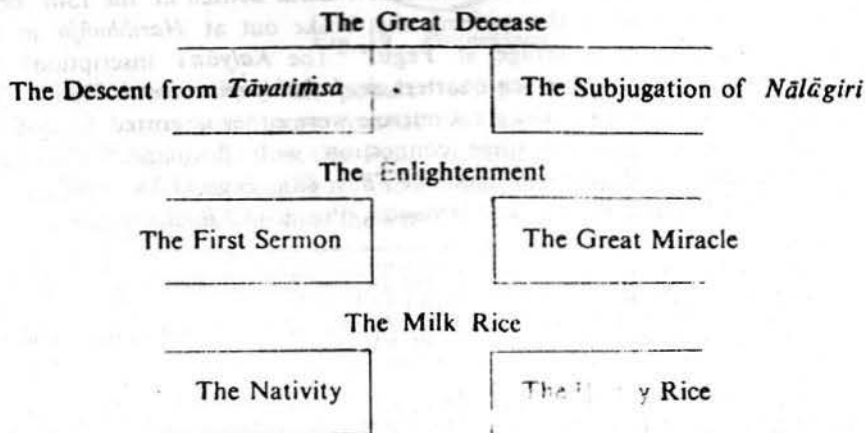
7. See *SSFACP*, I, p. 177, Pl. Vb for a tablet of Thailand similar to the Tadagale tablet.

8. See R.C.T.: *NAR*, pp. 34-5, Pl. XV and XVI.

We find six tablets¹ giving the major scenes from the Buddha's life. All these tablets are from the 11th to 14th century. It is amazing that no such tablets have yet been found among the Pyu: perhaps the subject was not popular then. *Aṭṭhamahāṭhāna*—the eight major scenes, according to the tablet of *Śrī Mahā Sālīni* (VTB, I, 13) who was probably a contemporary of *Aniruddha*² are:



The enlightenment scene is usually in the centre. The Buddha looking straight ahead sits in *bhūmiṣparśa mudrā* and *dhyānāsana* on a double throne with a smile on his lips. A *śikhara* rises above him. The whole is an exquisite piece of work. A similar tablet of *Ānandā* (VTB, I, 45) has three points of note. The craftsmanship equals that of *Sālīni*'s tablet and therefore it possibly belongs to *Aniruddha*'s time. But in place of the famous stanza *yedharmā* which usually appears in old *Nāgari* is a line in the Mon-Burmese script of *Thiluiṇ Mañ*'s time mentioning that the donor was an officer (*kalan*) known as *Puwa*. On the reverse is another line in the script of *Caṅsū I*'s time (1113-762) which says that the donor is *Mahāthera Ānandā*. A possible explanation is that *Ānandā* of *Caṅsū*'s time used the mould belonging to *Puwa* of *Thiluiṇ Mañ*'s reign (1084-1113) who had changed the name written on the mould originally made during the time of *Aniruddha* (?1044-777). A tablet (VTB, I, 50) of nine scenes probably from *Shahtut Pagoda*, west of *Somyingyi* on the south of *Myinkaba* gives the following scenes:



1. VTB, I, 1, 45, 51, 77 and 113.

2. This supposition is based on the fact that the *yedharmā* stanza of this tablet and those of *Aniruddha*'s are in the same script. VTB, I, p. 17.

The *yedharmā* inscription at the base is in *Nāgarī* of the 12th century script. Another tablet (VTB, I, 51) of eight scenes from an unspecified place in Pagan has a different arrangement. The bottom left shows *Māyā*'s dream. *Māyā* is sitting in *bhadrāsana* holding a ball-like thing in her hand while the white elephant tries to enter her womb. The nativity is at the bottom right. Between the two scenes are six lines in Mon (illegible except for a few words in the style of the 12th century). In the second row are the first sermon, enlightenment and great miracle scenes. Above these are the subjugation of *Nālāgiri* and the descent from *Tāvātimsa*. On the top is the recumbent Buddha under a spreading umbrella and surrounded by a group of mourning disciples.

The Great Decease	
The Subjugation of <i>Nālāgiri</i>	The Descent from <i>Tāvātimsa</i>
The Enlightenment	
The First Sermon	The Great Miracle
The Dream of <i>Māyā</i>	The Nativity

Another tablet (VTB, I, 77) of eight major scenes comes from Bassein. It has an inscription in Mon of the 14th century script saying that the image was made by a great minister. The arrangement of scenes are similar to that of *Sālīni*'s tablet. The last one (VTB, I, 113) to be described in this category has seventeen Buddhas — one recumbent, four sitting *bhadrāsana*, five standing and seven sitting *dhyanāsana*. As the tablet is badly preserved we cannot see the details clearly. The top figure is the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. Perhaps it is similar to the sandstone relief from Sārnāth¹ (5th century A.D.) which has:

The Great Decease		
The Great Miracle One Sitting and Five Standing Buddhas	The First Sermon	The Great Miracle One Sitting and Five Standing Buddhas
	<i>Māra</i> 's Attack and The Enlightenment	
	The First Bath and The Nativity	

Another sandstone relief from Sārnāth² has eight sitting and six standing figures of the Buddha depicting the scene of the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī. U Mya says that up till now no other such tablet has ever been discovered in Burma.

1. See *W of B*, p. 28, Ill. No. 3 and *L of B*, Pl. 95

2. *W of B*, p. 94, Ill. No. 30 and *L of B*, Pl. 94

Although I have mentioned above that the Pyu did not produce tablets of eight major scenes, they did produce tablets depicting one scene alone on each tablet. But so far only tablets of the great miracle (VTB, II, 28, 53, 54, 56) and the turning of the wheel of Law (VTB, II, 55, 77) have been discovered. The Hmawza tablet of the miracle (VTB, II, 53) is very similar to the one which R. C. Temple reported had been discovered at Amherst¹ and to another tablet of Khao Ok Dalu, Badalung, mentioned by G. Coédès in his paper on the votive tablets of Thailand.² U Mya therefore suggests that *Śrīkṣetra* and *Dvārāvātī* must have had some intercourse in the period from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. The tablet showing the first sermon (VTB, II, 55) has the Buddha in the *dharmacakra mudrā* and *dhyānāsana*. The sun and moon shines at his head level and he is flanked by five disciples on the left and five *deva* on the right. There is a wheel immediately below the *padmāsana* (Lotus Throne). The bottom row has deer and flowers. In the 5th century sculpture of Sārnāth showing the same scene,³ the Buddha sits in *dharmacakra mudrā* and *dhyānāsana*. The halo has an elaborately curved floral design. Two flying *deva* guard the top left and right corners. A pair of *vyāla* and *makara* are seen on both sides of the Buddha. On the pedestal is carved the side view of the *dharmacakra* which is flanked by three disciples on the right and two disciples, one lady and a child on the left. They are all in *namaskāra mudrā*. The disciples, are the *pañcavaggiya* but we do not know who the lady and child are and why they appear there. The Pyu tablet has five disciples and five *deva* and the front view of the *dharmacakra* together with deer and flowers which the Sārnāth statue omits. The *dharmacakra* carved on stone in the 1st century B.C. on the middle architrave, West Gate, Stupa I,⁴ Sārnāth, has 32 spokes whereas the wheel of the Pyu tablet has only the four major ones.

In about a fifth of the 160 tablets under survey, we find the figure of the Buddha or Bodhisattava flanked by *Śrāvaka* (disciples) (VTB, I, 49, 66, 108; VTB, II, 1, 58, 81) *Sakti* (consort) (VTB, II, 19, 28) or *dāyaka* (devotee) (VTB, II, 8). But in the Pagan period we find only two varieties, i.e. the Buddha flanked by *Śrāvaka* (VTB, I, 49, 66, 108) and by a *Bodhisattava* (VTB, I, 6, 10, 42, 105, 106).

Here one would certainly notice the presence of the *Mahāyāna* deities such as *Maitreya*, *Avalokiteśvara*, *Tarā* and *Saravati*. This is undeniable proof that *Mahāyāna* and *Hinayāna* Buddhism had devotees in both the Pyu and Pagan periods and it is interesting to note that King *Aniruddha* himself and *Trilokavataṃsakā* (Queen of *Thiluin Man*) left votive tablets of the Buddha flanked by *Avalokiteśvara* and *Maitreya* (VTB, I, 6, 10, 105, 106 by *Aniruddha* and 42 by *Triloka*). In passing it must be mentioned here that there are also tablets where *Avalokiteśvara* (VTB, II, 29, 34, 40; VTB, I, 2, 69) or *Tarā* (VTB, II, 24) appears as the central figure.⁵

As part of the decoration around the central figure of the tablet, there are stupas of various shapes. The number varies from one to fifty two (VTB, I, 111). It seems that this kind of

1. R.C.T. : NAR, Pl. XVI, top right

2. SSFACP, I, 174, Pl. II, top right

3. W of B, p. 83, Ill. No. 10 and L of B, Pl. 83

4. W of B, p. 82, Ill. No. 9

5. U Mya suggests that the figure on the tablet found at Hpaunglin village, Minbu (VTB, I, 69, p. 52) is *Jambala* and one of the flanking figures on the tablets from a mound south of Ngashinkan at Mahtaw village near Hmawza, Prome (VTB, II, 19, p. 18) is *Hayagrīva*. See B.B. : IBI, pp. 237-8 and Figs. 176-9 on pp. 286-8 for *Jambala* and p. 165 and figs. 128-9 on pp. 266-7 for *Hayagrīva*.

decoration became more popular in the Pagan period. In one tablet of the 7th or 8th century (VTB, II, 44) we find the *kalāśa* pot (which U Mya calls *krā swat ui*: - VTB, I, p. 54) on each side of the Buddha and it is not unlikely that a certain type of stupa evolved from the *kalāśa* pot. (Fig. 21) As we find steatite pots used as reliquaries at Piprava in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh, India (4th century B.C.)¹ and at Sāñchī (2nd century B.C.),² it is quite possible that the pot had been used as a model for building stupa. In another tablet of the 6th or 7th century (VTB, II, 14), we find a relic casket set on the upraised elephant trunk holding a lotus on each side of the Buddha. This suggests that another type of stupas evolved from the relic caskets. (Fig. 22) The Bawbawgyi pagoda at Hmawza, Prome, belongs to this casket type and it dates back to the 6th or 7th century A.D.³

The back part of the Buddha's throne is the *takai* which includes various objects as part of the decoration. Generally it looks like a beautiful pediment under which the Buddha sits sometimes alone or sometimes with two disciples or devotees. Various objects of decoration include balls, banners, bead, Bodhi trees, crowns, dancing figures, deer, elephants, floral designs, *gamumī*: (species of *Kaempferia*), halo, *hamisa*, *kalasa* pot, *khyayā*: (kind of *Mimusops*), *kirttimukha*, *makara*, offerings on trays, *śikhara*, sun and moon, *swastika*, umbrellas, *utpala* (blue lotus), *vyāla* and wheels. We find that balls, dancing figures, *makara*, sun and moon, *vyāla* and wheels were used only by the Pyu. We do not find them in the Pagan period. On the other hand, things like *hamisa* and *śikhara* were introduced during the Pagan period. The banners, beads, bodhi trees and umbrellas became more popular during this later period. As a matter of fact the introduction of the *śikhara* in the Pagan period changed the entire look of the tablet—leaving no room for the *vyāla* and *makara*.⁴ It is a pity that the use of such beautiful figures was discontinued. Although they

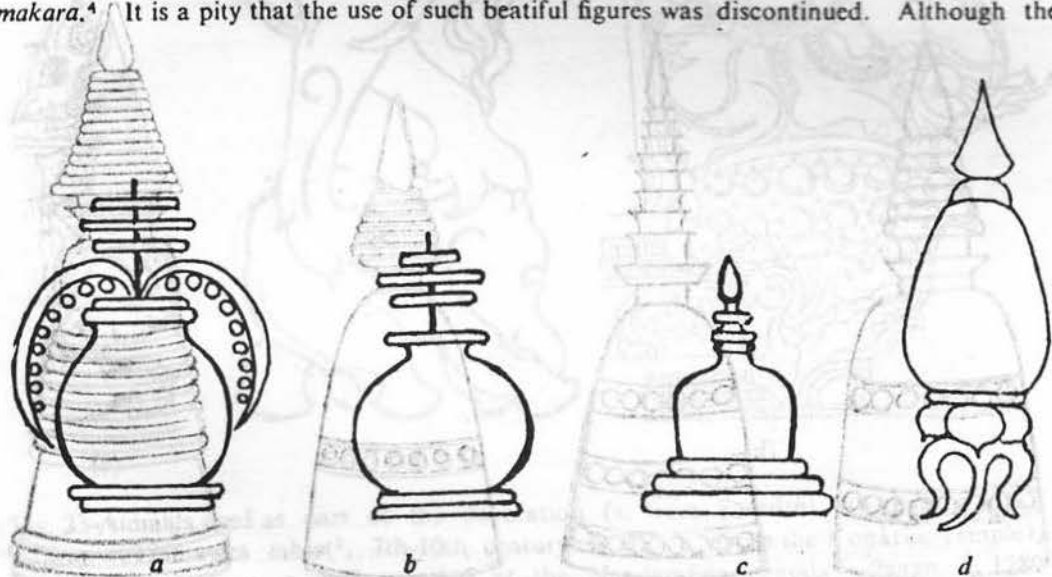


Fig. 21 Stupas evolving from the *kalāśa* pot⁵

1. *W of B*, p. 127, Ill. No. 9

2. *W of B*, p. 138, Ill. No. 27

3. VTB, II, p. 21

4. See the stone sculpture of the First Sermon, Sārnāth, 5th century A.D. (*W of B*, p. 83, Ill. No. 10)

5. Fig. 21 a (VTB, II, 44), b (VTB, II, 44), c (VTB, I, 75, VTB, II, 36, 38, 51), d (VTB, II, 22)

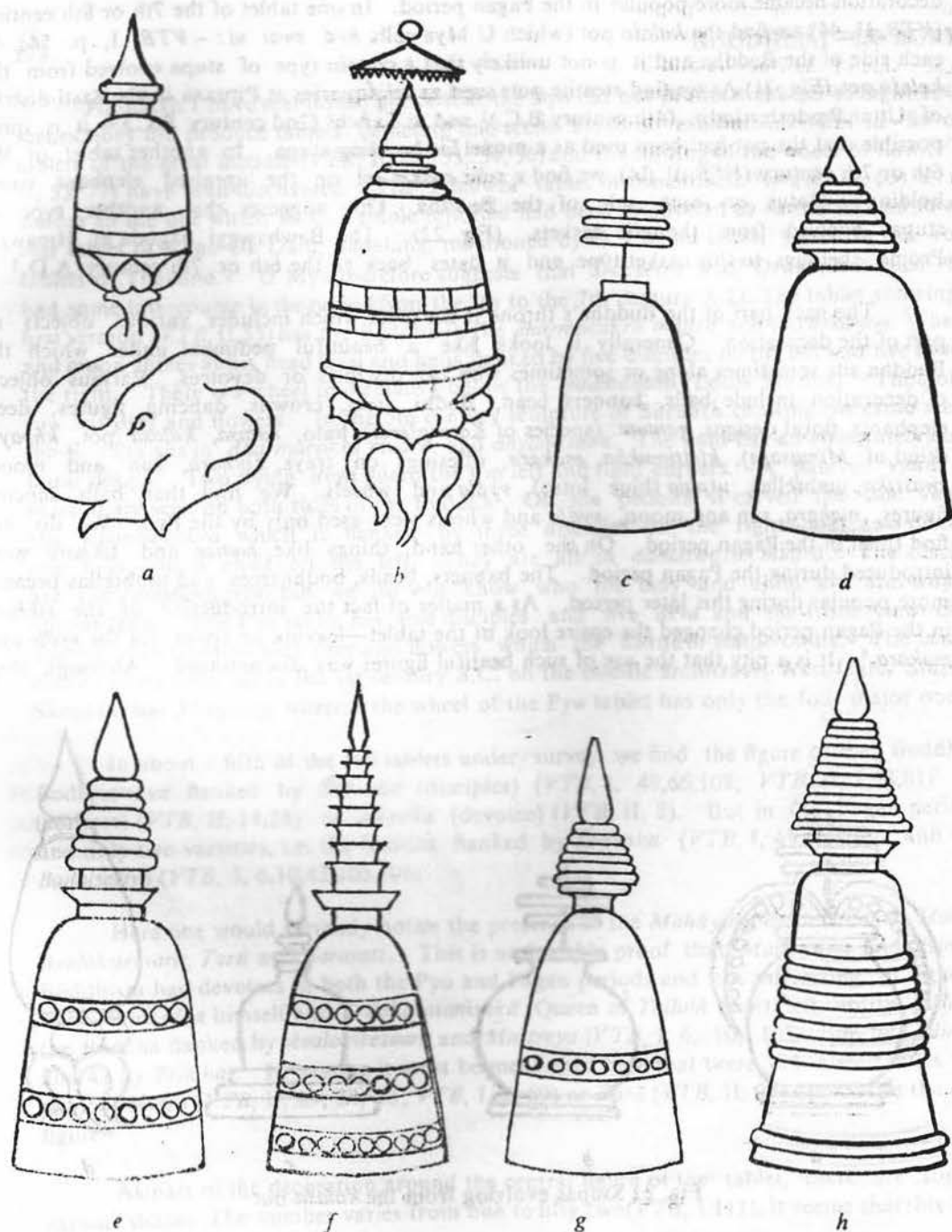


Fig. 22 Stupas evolving from the relic casket¹

1. Fig. 22 a (VTB, II, 14), b (VTB, II, 17, 27, 61), c (VTB, II, 39), d (VTB, I, 12) e (VTB, I, 18), f (VTB, I, 4), g (VTB, I, 11), h (VTB, I, 65)

disappeared from the votive tablets it does not mean that the Pagan artist had lost the art of making them. They were often depicted on the walls of the religious edifices at Pagan until the fall on the empire. (Fig. 23)



Fig. 23 Animals used as part of the decoration (a. from *Sārnāth*¹, 5th century A.D., b. from a Hmawza tablet², 7th-10th century A.D., c. from the Koṇārka Temple³, c. 1250 and d. from a wall painting at the Nandamñña pagoda⁴, Pagan, c. 1280

1. *W of B*, p. 83, Ill. No. 10

2. *VTB*, II, 12

3. *Gaja-Vidala*, Arabinda Chatterjee, *Koṇārka At A Glance*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 23

4. From the copies of wall paintings at the Archaeological Survey, Burma.

The donors of these tablets used to write their names either on the obverse below the Buddha's throne or on the reverse of the tablet and these names happen to be those of kings, queens, monks and common people. We now have a considerable number of these new names to be added to the early history of Burma. The urn inscriptions of Hmawza¹ have such names as *Sūriyavikrama*, *Harivikrama* and *Sihavikrama* who were supposed to be kings of *Srikṣetra* in the 7th century A.D. The silver reliquary² has the name of *Srī Prabhavarman* and *Srī Prabhudevi*. From another inscription on the four sides of a stone image³ we have the names of *Guhadipa*, *Jayacandravarman* and *Harivikrama*⁴ who probably were the contemporary rulers of Vishnu City (near Taungdwingyi) and *Srikṣetra* respectively. An inscription from Hanlin mentions *Tda: ba: Vikhno Srikū* and *Mahādevi Srī Jandra* which U Mya suggests, are probably *Vishnū Srī Gupta* and *Mahādevi Srī Candra*.⁵ Thus kings having *Vikrama*, *Varmana* and *Gupta* as part of their names must have ruled in the three Pyu centres of Hmawza, Peikthanomyo and Hanlin respectively during the period from the 7th to 9th centuries. Other new names are *Bā: Carke*⁶ (Lord Carke), *Ba Tra U*,⁷ *Sri Ba: Cho*⁸, *Bā: Sga:9 Bā: Ra:*,¹⁰ *Bā Dā:*,¹⁰ and *Bā Dehi*.¹¹ On the reverse of another tablet is the name which according to U Mya might be read as *Srī Nālandāya*.¹² If that is the correct reading he suggests that it might mean some sort of link between *Nālanda* and *Srikṣetra*.

The tablets of the Pagan period have inscriptions mentioning such names as *Anirudhā*¹³ (King? 1044-77), *Anantajayabikram*¹⁴ (*Samipyañ*), *Ānanda*¹⁵ (*Thera*), *I Taimila*¹⁶, *Na Goñ*¹⁷, *Na Chūm*,¹⁸ *Na Pay Pwam*,¹⁸ *Cipe*²⁰ (Chief Queen), *Ce Thoy No*,²¹ *Candumāh*²² (?*Samipyañ*),

1. Pl. 354c, a, b

2. VTB, II, 1

3. ASI, 1927-8, pp. 128 & 145, Pl. LJV g, h

4. BRSFAP, II, 311

5. VTB, II, p. 9

6. VTB, II, 17

7. VTB, II, 60a

8. VTB, II, 60b

9. VTB, II, 60d

10. VTB, II, 61a

11. VTB, II, 62

12. VTB, II, 85b

13. VTB, I, 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 68, 71

14. VTB, I, 78

15. VTB, I, 45c, p. 41

16. VTB, I, 98, p. 66

17. VTB, I, 70

18. VTB, I, 98, p. 66

19. VTB, I, 71

20. VTB, I, 32, 34, 35

21. VTB, I, 97

22. VTB, I, 22 (Pl. 606 t w)

Tiras,¹ *Trāyyā*² (*Samṛyaṇ*), *Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja*³ (King *Thiluiṇ Maṇ* 1084-1113), *Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja*⁴ (King *Caṇṣū* II, 1174-1211), *Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja*⁵ (King *Caṇṣū* I, 1113-?62), *Triyā*⁶ (*Samṛyaṇ*), *Trilokāvataṁsakāmahādevī*⁷ (Chief Queen of *Thiluiṇ Maṇ*), *Divācariyena*⁸ (*Thera*), *Dhammarājapaṇḍita*⁹ (*Thera*), *Pi*¹⁰ (*Kalan*), *Puwa*¹¹ (*Kalan*), *Pintū*¹² (*Samṛyaṇ*), *Pwoṇ*¹³ (*Kalan*), *Bañā no*¹⁴ (*Samṛyaṇ*), *May Khray*,¹⁵ *May Pā*,¹⁶ *Muggaliputta*¹⁷ (*Thera*), *Moṇ Uiṇ*¹⁸, *Moṇ Keh Soau*¹⁹, *Moṇ Khat*,²⁰ *Yassa*²¹ (*Samṛyaṇ*), *Yāsohddharā*²², *Yikhi*²³, *Lān Yaṇ Len*²⁴, *Vajrābharaṇadeva*²⁵ (? King ?1077-84), *Visannārāc*²⁶ (*Samṛyaṇ*), *Sudhammā*²⁷ (*Thera*), *Sumedha*²⁸ (*Thera*) and *Srī Mahā Sālīni*²⁹ (? Queen). Among these names, *Aniruddha* was King of *Arimaddanapura* in the 11th century. *Cipe* of the same period claimed to be the Chief Queen (*Maheśi*). Perhaps she was *Aniruddha*'s queen. *Srī Mahā Sālīni* probably was of the royal family of *Aniruddha* as the prefixes *Srī Mahā* to her name suggest. *Divācariyena* and *Suddhammā* were the names of two senior monks of that time. As officers or ministers of *Aniruddha* there were *Samṛyaṇ Candumāh*, *Samṛyaṇ Bañāno*, *Samṛyaṇ Trāyyā*, *Samṛyaṇ Yassa*, *Samṛyaṇ Visannārāc* and *Kalan ņa Goṇ*. The next King was *Vajrābharaṇa* (? 1077-84) followed by *Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* who reigned as King of *Pagan* from 1084 to 1113. *Trilokāvataṁsakā* was his Chief Queen. *Samṛyaṇ Anantajaya-bhikrā* and *Samṛyaṇ Yi Khī* were his governors for *Tavoy*. Junior ministers were *Kalan Puwa* and *Kalan Pwoṇ*. The notable *thera* of the reign were *Muggaliputta* and *Sumedha*. *Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja* ruled from 1113 to ? 1162 and *Samṛyaṇ Pintū* and *Samṛyaṇ*

1. VTB, I, p. 65
2. VTB, I, 17
3. VTB, I, 40, 41, 78 (Pl. 364a⁴)
4. VTB, I, 46 (Pl. 10a¹, A.D. 1190)
5. VTB, I, 43 (Pl. 11⁸⁻¹⁰, Pl. 24¹, Pl. 568b)
6. VTB, I, 44
7. VTB, I, 42 (Pl. 364a⁸)
8. VTB, I, 15b
9. VTB, I, 47 (Pl. 10a⁹, A.D. 1190)
10. VTB, I, 75
11. VTB, I, 45b
12. VTB, I, p. 33
13. VTB, I, p. 58
14. VTB, I, 30
15. VTB, I, 70
16. VTB, I, 98, p. 67
17. VTB, I, 48, 49 (Pl. 364a²³)
18. VTB, I, p. 70
19. VTB, I, 53
20. VTB, I, 71
21. VTB, I, 14ab, 20, 299
22. VTB, I, 27 (Pl. 606 sx)
23. VTB, I, p. 60
24. VTB, I, 98, p. 66
25. VTB, I, 36, 37, 38, 39
26. VTB, I, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26 (Pl. 606 abijklmnopqr uv)
27. VTB, I, 28
28. VTB, I, 61 (Pl. 365a²⁴⁻⁵)
29. VTB, I, p. 13

Triyā were his ministers. Ananda was the noted thera of the reign. Tribhuvanādityapavara-dhammarāja became king in 1174 and ruled until 1211. Dhammarājapaṇḍita was probably the King's Preceptor. Kalan Pī served in his reign. These are almost all the names that we can get out of the inscriptions on the tablets under survey and the names of queens and ministers of Aniruddha's time are quite new to us. Yassa, the minister of Aniruddha described himself as Dānapati Śrī Rājavalabbha. Yasa nāma (in the old Nāgarī script) and Sambeṇ Mañ Yassa nāma rājavalabbhena dānapati (in the old Mon-Burmese script)¹ which means that the donor is Sampyaṇ Mañ Yassa, an intimate of the king. In addition to this, a Pali inscription written in a reverse form in the Mon-Burmese script on the obverse reads:

*Imaṃ Buddhābimbam Sambeṇ Mañ Yassa nāma rājavalabbhena dānapati sabbañu-taṇṇa varam pathantena katam sade vako loko jānētūti.*²

Designing Buddhahood, the king's favourite, known by the name of Sampyaṇ Mañ Yassa, made this image of the Buddha with the thought "May the world including the deva know this."

Here U May refers to an inscription from Saw Hla Wun (Pagan Museum Stone No. 44)³ dated A.D. 1236 where Asawat, minister of Nātoṇmyā (1211-731) was mentioned by his widow as:

amacco rājavalabbho ... aklwam wañ so mañ amat te //4

The minister was an intimate of the king.

This is an important point with regard to Burmese political thought and practice. To be one of the King's intimates seem to be an attribute of a good administrative officer. Perhaps these intimates of the King became atwañ-wañ i.e. privy councillors in later times.

There are also many tablets in Burma which had nothing to do with the Religion. Most of them were found at Hmawza, Prome (VTB, II, 7, 31, 32, 41, 42, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71) and at Kyontu, Waw Township, Pegu District (VTB, I, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85). They were probably part of the decorative motif of the walls which surround the religious buildings and they contain many beautiful floral designs and interesting fighting or hunting scenes. Although most of the tablets discussed in U Mya's book belong to a period from the 7th to 12th century, he also includes one tablet (VTB, I, 86) found in the relic chamber of the Botataung Pagoda, Rangoon, which has an inscription in one of the Brāhmī script of the Buddhaghosa Dhammapāla period (5th century A.D.),⁵ four tablets from Semeikshe (Thazi), Binji Cave (Thaton), Shwezayan (Thaton) and an unknown place (VTB, I, 72, 75, 76 and 108) which are of the 13th century, one tablet (VTB, I, 73) also from Semeikshe (Thazi) of the 14th century and two tablets from the Htupayon (Sagaing) and Akyab (Arakan) of the

1. VTB, I, p. 17 It is on the border of tablet

2. VTB, I, p. 18

3. Pl. 96; List 235a, SIP (G.H.L. & P.M.T.) 49; SIP (E.M.) 95; UB, I, 195-6

4. Pl. 962, VTB, I, p. 18

5. A. I. Basham: *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 266

15th century (VTB, I, 74, 96). He also includes in the illustrations, one tablet that looks like a product of some Chinese workmanship (VTB, I, 33) and another tablet made of iron (VTB, I, 106) found at Myinkaba, Pagan.

With regard to the script U Mya observes that the *Nāgarī* letters of the Pyu tablets were quite different from those written on the tablets of Pagan⁴ and that the writing on *Aniruddha's*⁵ (VTB, I, 9) and *Yassa's* tablets (VTB, I, 14b) were of the earliest known writings in the Mon-Burmese script.⁶ The names of fruits and vegetables written on the reverse of the tablets⁷ (VTB, I, 53) found at a hillock in Maung Chit Sa's field to the east of the Ananda Pagoda, Pagan give us some of the earliest examples of written Burmese. The donors of these tablets are *Ananda Thera*, *Moñ Keh Soau*, etc. and the tablets belong either to the reign of *Cañsū I* (1113-7 62) or *Cañsū II* (1174-1211).⁵ From these tablets U Mya gets the names of 52 kinds of fruit, etc.⁸ They are *ip mhūy*⁷ (? *Lagerstroemia Flos reginae*, modern *pyañma*, *Embrella robusta*), *ūrec*⁸ (*Aegle marmelos*), *ūn wat*⁹ (coconut), *oñmañiw*¹⁰ (*Clitoria ternatea*), *katiw*¹¹ (? musk), *kulāpāy*¹² (*Cicer arietinum*), *kampon*¹³ (soap acacia), *kankhyow*,¹⁴ *kleñphū-rum*¹⁵ (the white gourd-melon, *Benincasa cerifera*), *klīmyañ*,¹⁶ *klit*¹⁷ (? *Coix la chrymae jobis*), *krat*¹⁸ (*Nymphaea*), *krakkrūn*¹⁹ (a kind of coffeewort), *kra*, *klū*²⁰ (? the chebula tree, *Terminalia chebula*), *kramrañ*²¹ (sugar cane juice), *kwam* *sī*²² (areca-nuts), *khīrhāpwañ*²³ (*Acanthus illicifolius*), *nhākpyow*²⁴ (banana), *cariw*²⁵ (a kind of medicinal herb), *cimunak*²⁶ (? *Nigella sativa*), *cimukri*²⁷ (? gingerwort), *chiphūh*²⁸, *chan*²⁹ (husked

1. VTB, I, p. 24 and VTB, II, p. 24

2. See also Pl. 568a.

3. VTB, I, pp. 14 and 19

4. Pl. 604, Pl. 605; BRSPAP, II, 352-61

5. VTB, I, p. 41

6. VTB, I, pp. 43-5; Pl. 604, Pl. 605 together give only 35 names.

7. VTB, I, p. 44, n. 21, Pl. 604j

8. 66, Pl. 3862⁸

9. 64, Pl. 605b

10. 13, Pl. 604p

11. 6, 45, 58, Pl. 604i

12. 25, Pl. 605i

13. 2

14. 59, 62

15. 54, Pl. 604g

16. 60

17. 50, 51

18. 1, 22, Pl. 605o

19. 37, Pl. 604e

20. 40

21. 35, Pl. 605a

22. 7, Pl. 604d

23. 56, 57, Pl. 604o

24. 14

25. 33, Pl. 604r

26. 29

27. 65, Pl. 604n

28. 68, Pl. 604k

29. 4

rice), *chapswā*¹ (*Pandanus furcatus*), *ñhiwpān*,² *talēñ*³ (pomegranate), *ñiñ*⁴ (? *Diospyros Burmanica*), *tancikū*⁵ (sandalwood, *santalum album*), *tān cu lyān*,⁶ *thānryak*⁷ (palmyra jaggery), *nhām*⁸ (sesamum), *pānpūy*⁹ (*Careya arborea*), *pāy kri*¹⁰ (*Dolichos lablab var. lignosus*), *pāy lwam*¹¹ (*Vigna Catjang*) *pyā noy*¹² (? *nwegyo*, *Thunbergia laurifolia*), *phalā*¹³ (the cardamom plant), *phitkhyāñ*¹⁴ (*Piper cubeba*), *bhiitikiy*¹⁵ (? *pittaka*, the papaya, *Carica papaya*), *mathunsarā*¹⁶ (? grape), *munñāñ*¹⁷ (black mustard, *Braisa nigra*), *mūriw pwañ*¹⁸ (? the mudar plant), *yasakleñ*¹⁹ (*Sesbania aegyptiaca*), *rañmā*²⁰ (*Chickrassia tabularis*, Chittagong wood), *rāyriw*²¹ (*Morinda citrifolia* or *angustifolia*), *rhokpwāñ*²² (citrus blossom), *lakthui*²³ (? *Wrightia tomentosa*), *sāniwkhūy*²⁴ (*kanikaw*, *Mesua ironwood*), *sikhwā*²⁵ (cucumber, *Cucumis sativus*), *si, twot*²⁶ (*Ficus hispida*), *siryak*²⁷ (mango), *secchi*²⁸ (*sacchim*, the *Terminalia bellerica* myrobalan) and *hinkiw*²⁹ (asafoetida or ? the papaya as the Tavoyans call it). From other epigraphic sources we can add thirteen more, viz. *khapon* (*Strychnos*), *kheñ* (? ginger), *cāmkā* (*Michelia champaca*, champac), *punñak* (*Calopyllum*), *piy* (corypha palm), *mañklāñ* (the tamarind), *mun* (? *pinnai*, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, the Jack fruit tree), *mhānrwañ*, *sipriy* (the Rose apple tree), *siphan* (the sycamore-fig), *siūy* (Karen potato), *sanpoñ* and *sañparā* (the lime).³⁰ Thus we have about 65 names of fruits, flower, trees, plants, climbers, etc. belonging to the 12th century Pagan.

1. VTB. I, p. 44, n. 27, Pl. 605f

2. 36, Pl. 605h

3. 39, 53, Pl. 605q

4. 61

5. 10

6. 46

7. 9, Pl. 605c

8. 20, Pl. 604c

9. 11, 12, 15, Pl. 605e

10. 32, Pl. 605j

11. 31, Pl. 605k

12. 49

13. 5, 18, 38

14. 28, 43, 44

15. 63

16. 42, Pl. 604 m

17. 17, Pl. 605 i

18. 3

19. 19, 26, Pl. 605 m

20. 23, Pl. 605 d

21. 30, Pl. 604, b

22. 47, 48, Pl. 605 m

23. 8, Pl. 605 g

24. 55, Pl. 604 q

25. 24, 34, Pl. 604 f, h

26. 52, Pl. 605 r

27. 16, Pl. 604 i

28. 67

29. 41

30. See BRSFAP, II, 352-61

There are six kinds of prayers written on these tablets. They are:

1. A simple prayer for just the boon of *nirvāṇa*, prayed by *Aniruddha*,¹ *Vajrābharāṇa*,² *Trilokāvatāmsakā*,³ *Dhammarājapaṇḍita*,⁴ *Ce Thoy No*,⁵ *Tiras*,⁶ and *Lān Yān*.⁷
2. A prayer wishing to be freed from all miseries.⁸
3. A prayer to become the foremost person in both the worlds of man and *deva* before *nirvāṇa* is attained finally.⁹
4. A prayer by two Governors of Tavoy viz. *Anantajayabhikkhān*¹⁰ and *Yi Kkī*¹¹ who wanted to become *śrāvaka* when their lord the king (*Thiluiṇ Mañ*) becomes the Buddha.
5. A prayer to attain *nirvāṇa* when *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha, prayed by *Aniruddha*¹² and *Bañāno*.¹³
6. A prayer for Buddhahood prayed by *Yassa*,¹⁴ *Visannarāc*,¹⁵ *Yāsohddharāh*,¹⁶ *Tribhavanādityadhammarāja*¹⁷ (*Thiluiṇ Mañ*), *Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja*,¹⁸ (*Caṇsū I*), *Triyā*,¹⁹ *Puwa*,²⁰ *Ānanda*,²¹ *Sumedha*²² and *Pi*.²³

This shows that only the most ambitious prayed for Buddhahood and it is interesting to note that *Aniruddha* and *Vajrābharāṇa* are not in that group. *Aniruddha* only mentioned that he wished for *nirvāṇa* when he meets *Maitreya*, the next Buddha. So it seems that among the Pagan kings it was *Thiluiṇ Mañ* – an interloper, whose regnal title was *Tribhavanādityadhammarāja* was the first to pray for Buddhahood.

1. VTB, I, pp. 9, 14
2. VTB, I, p. 27
3. VTB, I, p. 31
4. VTB, I, p. 37
5. VTB, I, p. 64
6. VTB, I, p. 65
7. VTB, I, p. 67
8. VTB, I, p. 66
9. VTB, I, p. 46
10. VTB, I, 59
11. VTB, I, p. 60
12. VTB, I, p. 11
13. VTB, I, I, p. 24
14. VTB, I, p. 18
15. VTB, I, p. 20
16. VTB, I, p. 23
17. VTB, I, p. 29
18. VTB, I, p. 31
19. VTB, I, p. 33
20. VTB, I, p. 34
21. VTB, I, p. 34
22. VTB, I, p. 48
23. VTB, I, p. 55

scrip

The presence of either the Buddha or the Bodhisattva and his Śakti as central figures in some votive tablets show us that both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Buddhisms had devotees among both the rulers and the ruled. The use of Brāhmī and Nāgari scripts, is evidence of Burma's cultural affinity with India. There may have been links between Śrīkṣetra and Nālanda and China. This intercourse probably explains the presence of northern Buddhism in Burma. In workmanship the Pyu tablets are definitely finer than the Pagan ones. Tablets of the latter half of the Pagan period are of better craftsmanship than those of the earlier half, but they still fall short of the Pyu standard. In depicting the Buddha, the Pyu used many mudrā (hand positions) and āsana (feet positions) while the people of Pagan mostly used the bhūmiṣparśa mudrā and dhyānāsana. The bhadrāsana was quite popular and not as scarce as previously assumed. The padmāsana was the most common throne. A close study of the stupas used in the decorations around the Buddha on the tablets give us a fairly complete picture of how the stupas had evolved from the kalaśa pot and relic caskets. In the decorative motifs, the disappearance of the vyāla and makara is a sad thing though it is in some ways compensated by the introduction of the hamisa and śikhara. We find in the list of donors kings, ministers of Aniruddha and Thiluin Mañ, and a queen who claims to be the chief among queens (mahesī). All this information is new to history. We have a list of fruits and flowers which give us an idea of the flora and fauna of the day.

10. 20

9. 11. 11

10. 12. 11

11. 11. 11

11. 49

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I Epigraphy

BURMA is richly endowed with inscriptions. In this respect it is the richest country in Southeast Asia, but "this richness applies only to number and not to age" as only a few inscriptions antedating the 11th century have been discovered. *Śrīkṣetra* yielded a stone fragment containing an extract from *Vibhaṅga*, gold-leaf Pali manuscripts, and "five-urn-inscriptions" in Pyu, all of which could be dated to the 8th century or earlier. Seven Sanskrit inscriptions were found in Arakan and they belong to the 6th-8th century.¹ This is about all that is known the prior to period A.D. 1044-1287. In our period the earliest inscriptions yet discovered are the seals of *Aniruddha*. They are all on terra-cotta votive tablets and bear the name of *Aniruddha* in Sanskrit or Pali (*Anuruddha* in the latter case). Their find spots range from Mongmit in the north to Tcnasserim in the south.² After these we have the Mon inscriptions of *Thiluin Man* (A.D. 1084-1113) which have been edited by C.O. Blagden³ and published in the *Epigraphia Birmanica*. The Ananda Temple built by the same king has hundreds of glazed plaques depicting scenes from the *Jātaka* with Mon legends. As a matter of fact Mon language was almost exclusively used for inscriptions of the early part of our period. There are also many votive tablets⁴, bearing the names of some fruits and trees, found in Taungbi village, east of Ananda, Pagan. Judging by the script and spelling, they are considered to be the earliest writings in Burmese. Probably they belong to the early 12th century when Burmans started writing their own language. The presence of inscriptions written in Pali, Mon and even Pyu in the early 12th century suggests that the art of writing among the Burmans was still in its infancy so that scribes in other languages than the Burmese were easily procurable. But from A.D. 1174 onwards Burmese alone became the language of the inscriptions with the exception of a few lines of Pali prayer added in some cases. The Tatkale Pagoda Inscription⁵ (A.D. 1192) gives us a fairly good example of the script, spelling and style of old Burmese. The script shows some affinity with the scripts of South India and has a surprisingly close resemblance to the old *Brāhmī* script in many of its characters.⁶ Some scholars are of the opinion that the Burmans got their art of writing from the Mon who borrowed it from Pallava (Conjeveram).⁷

During the latter half of the Pagan dynasty, lithic inscriptions became more numerous. In addition to these, there were also "ink inscriptions" written on the walls of the hollow-pagodas, some of which are duplicates of the stone inscriptions. We have the greatest

1. E.H. Johnston: "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", *BSOAS*, XI, ii, 357-85; D.C. Sircar: "Inscriptions of Chandras of Arakan", *Epi. Ind.*, XXXII, i, 103-9; *ASB*, 1919, p. 56, 1921, App. G No. 13, 1956-7, pp. 17-21, 1958-9, pp. 24-7
2. See Map IV
3. Inscriptions I to XI of *Ep. Birm.*
4. Pl. 604, Pl. 605, Pl. 606; *VTB*, I & II. See Appendix II
5. Pl. 12
6. Tha Myat: *A History of the Mon-Burmese Alphabet* (in Burmese) Rangoon. 1955-6, pp. 8-9
7. *ASB.*, 1919, pp. 19-20; Mya: *Old Burmese Alphabet - A Preliminary Study* (in Burmese) Rangoon Govt. Printing, 1961.

difficulty in deciphering those engraved on Webu (mica-schist) stones which were used more frequently in the later period. These are soft stones which cannot withstand the weathering effect of long exposure. This defect was also an asset as its very softness made it a suitable material for the engraving of floral designs with which the 13th century Burman decorated the borders of his inscriptions.

At first rubbings were taken by inking the stone itself and pressing down paper on it. Thus a negative copy of the inscription was made. Therefore the rubbing had to be read through a mirror. This method was improved later: thus a positive copy was obtained.

King Bodawpaya issued an order on 24 July 1793 to make a collection of all available lithic inscriptions because he wished to know the amount of land dedicated to the Religion.¹ He wanted to know the extent of cultivable land in his kingdom which did not yield revenue. Inscription stones were transferred to his capital where they were copied in extenso (chan, thui:) or summarised (cap thui:). But this was not done scientifically. It is fortunate that the search for stones was not thorough and thus "the stones left *in situ* far exceed in number those collected". Only the smaller stones were removed probably because of transport difficulties. The presence of many fragments at Amarapura suggests that a considerable number of stones were broken in transit. Oral history says that "accidents" during transportation destroyed some big stones because workers employed in their removal did not relish heavy loads. Nevertheless some six hundred stones reached the capital. The king commissioned a few scholars to study them. Among them Twan:sañ: Mahā Cañsū was the most notable. It seems that these scholars did not really attempt to read Mon, Pyu and old Burmese inscriptions correctly. Thus some errors in names and dates went into the chronicle they compiled. In about 1790 Twan:sañ: produced the Rājawañsac at the king's request. Although U Kala (early 18th. century) had incorporated a few inscriptions in his Rāja-wañkri: before this Twan:sañ: was the first to use epigraphic material as a historical source. When King Bagyidaw appointed a committee in 1829 to compile a chronicle of the Burmese kings, the committee was aware of the desirability of using inscriptions and it occasionally mentioned discrepancies in dates or details between the old chronicles and some inscriptions

but they had not the time, the means, or (I am afraid) the courage to collect *all* the inscriptions, to perfect readings and interpretations, and then demolish the jerry-built structure of the chronicles which they had helped to set up.²

After the British annexation of Lower Burma, in 1891 Dr Emil Forchhammer was appointed Government Archaeologist and he started collecting, this time, the rubbings of inscriptions. As mentioned above, these first rubbings were in negative and therefore had to be read through a mirror. Perhaps this difficult method is accountable for many omissions and mistakes made in the transcription of these first rubbings. Another serious mistake was the modernisation of the spellings in some cases in the process of the transcription. Dr E. Forchhammer died in 1890 and Taw Sein Ko his successor published the following "six enormous volumes of the elephant size, numbering altogether 2,802 pages".

1. *Kun:bhoñ chak*, Mandalay, 1905, p. 662

2. *JBRs*, XXXII, i, 82

1. *The Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, (1892)
- 2 & 3. *The Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda*, 2 volumes, (1897)
- 4 & 5. *The Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma*, 2 volumes, (1900 & 1903)
6. *The Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura*, (1913)

These six volumes contain about half of the inscriptions hitherto discovered. A rough translation of volume one by U Tun Nyein appeared in 1899. As the inscriptions were grouped geographically in the above collection, Dr C. Duroiselle, successor to Taw Sein Ko in 1919, gave a chronological list—*A List of Inscriptions Found in Burma*, in 1921 (after Taw Sein Ko: *Index Inscriptionum Birmanicarum*, I, 1900). Old and middle Mon inscriptions were published (with facsimile, transcription, translation and notes) in the series known as *Epigraphia Birmanica* between 1919 and 1936. Except for the Ananda plaques (Volume II by C. Duroiselle) the entire work was done by Professor C.O. Blagden—"A Sherlock Holmes in Epigraphy" who also deciphered some Pyu inscriptions.

After the end of the First World War, the University of Rangoon was founded and its Department of Oriental Studies started to make an independent collection of the rubbings of inscriptions with a view to publishing collotype reproductions first and transcription with translation and notes on them later. Professors Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce were the leading personalities in the movement. Over a hundred new inscriptions were further discovered before the outbreak of the Second World War and their collection was said to be much better than that of the Department of the Archaeological Survey of Burma. As a result of their joint effort a transcription in Burmese of fifty four inscriptions of Pagan entitled *Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan* appeared in 1928. The rubbings in their collection are correlated with Duroiselle's List wherever possible so that they could be linked with the six "elephant" volumes. They were arranged chronologically after a very severe selection so as to omit all copies (i.e. copies made from stones which are now untraceable) and the publishing of facsimiles started in 1933. Five volumes have been published so far. They are:

Portfolio I *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1131–A.D. 1237

Portfolio II *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1238–A.D. 1268

Portfolio III *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1269–A.D. 1300 and undated, doubtfully dated and fragments believed to be of the period A.D. 1131–A.D. 1300

Portfolio IV *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1301–A.D. 1340 and some more inscriptions prior to A.D. 1300 whose dates were determined only after the first three portfolios were sent to press.

Portfolio V *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1341–A.D. 1365

There are 610 plates in these five portfolios. Some of these inscriptions belong to the post-Pagan period, and some are entirely useless as they are either too fragmentary or illegible. Therefore for the purpose of this thesis Professor G. H. Luce made me a selection of about five hundred for which I am extremely grateful. Owing to such faults as omissions,

careless readings and modernization of spelling, the use of the six "elephant" volumes is avoided as much as possible in this thesis.

The Archaeological Survey and the Burma Historical Commission (estb. 1955) are making rubbings of inscriptions and many new inscriptions were discovered by both. During the last few years some books on epigraphy were published. They are:

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CORRIGENDA

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page	line	for	read
7	40	<i>Inscriptions in Ceylon</i>	<i>Inscriptions in Ceylon</i>
12	32	assassinated	assassinated
21	5-6	The minister <i>Aswat</i> (<i>?Aśvattāma</i>) was in his civil duties the <i>aklaṃ taṃ so maṇ amat</i> ² —Royal Register.	The minister <i>Asawat</i> (<i>?Aśvat-tāma</i>) was mentioned as <i>aklwam taṃ so maṇ amat</i> ² —an intimate of the King.
23	28-30	Another inscription ³ ...mixed up in politics. ⁴	Another inscription ³ mentions that <i>Kroṇ Siṅghā</i> , <i>Randhip</i> and <i>Bhummaḥuīl</i> rebelled. Through the intercession of <i>Mahāsman</i> and the pleading of <i>Nakkabuil</i> , they were pardoned by King <i>Klacwā</i> . For this they gave <i>Mahāsman</i> a generous gift of 1500 pay at <i>Dhipe-syaṇ</i> .
23		delete footnote 4	
24	5	cofiscation	confiscation
29	29	Chammers	Chalmers
32	9	Chieng-mien	Chēng-mien
34	16	<i>Bodhisvattva</i>	<i>Bodhisattva</i>
34	28	tc	to
34	41	governmant	government
35	5	<i>ñan kla maṇ</i>	<i>nan kla maṇ</i>
35	23	Cheng-mien	Chēng-mien
36	2	<i>Noṇ U</i>	<i>Ñoṇ U</i>
36	4	<i>Noṇ U</i>	<i>Ñoṇ U</i>
37	18	<i>khruln</i>	<i>kharuln</i>
37	18	<i>tuik</i> ⁷ and <i>tuik</i> ⁸	<i>tuik</i> ⁷ and <i>tuīn</i> ⁸
40	1	distlnction	distinction
40	20	<i>saṃpyaṇ kri</i> . ¹	<i>saṃpyaṇ kri</i> . ⁵
40	25	<i>3 yok</i> ²	<i>3 yok</i> ⁶
40	29	<i>Manorāja</i> ³	<i>Manorāja</i> ⁷
40	30	<i>Manurāja</i> ⁴	<i>Manurāja</i> ⁸
40	32	<i>Mahāsaman</i> ⁵	<i>Mahāsaman</i> ⁹
40	32	<i>kulwmhu</i> ⁶	<i>kulwmhu</i> ¹⁰
41	37	as the	as in the
41	38	offical	official
44	11-12	delete the sentence — We find that...Registrar.	
44	34	delete footnote 4	
45	24	<i>Ñat Tit Saṇ</i>	<i>Ña Tit Saṇ</i>
48	24	<i>Tarukpillav</i>	<i>Tarukpilly</i>

—page	line	for	read
52	45	discovered	discovered
55	25	Budhist	Buddhist
57	23	dyansty	dynasty
64	10	ryapiuin	ryaptuin
64	42	Ep. Birm.	Ep. Birm.
65	14	paiting	painting
65	17	paiting	painting
65	37	delete—See Appendix II	
66	20	architectual	architectural
67	3	<i>Bhūmisparśā mudrā</i>	<i>bhūmiśparśa mudrā</i>
67	4-5	delete—(see illustration)	
70	13	Buddahood	Buddhahood
71	1	<i>sabaññu</i>	<i>sabbaññu</i>
72	14	forest	forest
81	1	<i>Milindapanhā</i>	<i>Milindapañhā</i>
81	32	<i>Nāṇagambhīra</i>	<i>Nāṇagambhīra</i>
81	35	<i>Vimalabuddhi</i>	<i>Vimalabuddhi</i>
84	1	said	said:
84	29	<i>tryā</i> ³	<i>tryā haw³</i>
85	36	Kyoan Thwan:	Kyoan Thwan:
85	39	<i>Kabyābandasara</i>	<i>Kabyābandasāra</i>
89	2	ordea	ordeal
94	10	<i>arahā</i>	<i>araha</i>
94	43	<i>kammavāsā</i>	<i>kammavācā</i>
95	6	<i>saññyan</i>	<i>saññyan</i>
97	9	<i>Narasiṅga</i>	<i>Narasiṅha</i>
98	2	<i>Saṇṭon</i>	<i>Saṇṭon</i>
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99	35	directions	directions
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101	4	ard	and
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103	2	lams	lamps
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104	37	<i>navanīta</i>	<i>navanīta</i>
104	45	idia	idea
105	24	<i>Sanṅhāṭi</i>	<i>Sanṅhāṭi</i>
105	24	<i>Uttarasaṅgo</i>	<i>Uttarāsaṅgo</i>
106	35	almsbow	almsbowl
106	?		<i>sūci</i>
107	?		<i>chun</i>
107	15	<i>skhiu</i>	<i>skhiu</i>
120	26	land	land
120	32		<i>Mānanthu</i>
120			<i>Sacmatī</i>

page	line	for	read
121	31	<i>sampyan</i>	<i>sampyan</i>
123	25	<i>kau</i>	<i>kan</i>
124	26	<i>Pegan</i>	<i>Pagan</i>
125	22	most reverend	Most Reverend
126	5	at their	as their
129	12	sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in silver;	sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in gold; the image of the Lord cast in silver;
129	16	Perched	Parched
129	26	imple	imply
131	40	ther zeal	their zeal
132	5	<i>Pitakā</i>	<i>Pitaka</i>
135	31	<i>klyay</i>	<i>klyap</i>
136	25	<i>ku</i>	<i>kū</i>
136	30	minium chalk,	minium, chalk,
136	31	<i>?kyaktañuiy</i>	<i>kyaktañuiy</i>
138	20	basket of paddy	baskets of paddy
140	5	monartery	monastery
141	10	enshrined	enshrined
143	11	world	word
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144	16	<i>Skhli</i>	<i>Skhin</i>
144	18	<i>rutana</i>	<i>ratana</i>
145	28	dedote	denote
146	2	<i>nma</i>	<i>nīma</i>
146	29	<i>Cañsū I</i>	<i>Cañsū II</i>
149	23	place	plac
150	8	<i>Sinhapikrami</i>	<i>Singhapikrami</i>
150	10	<i>Sinhapikrami</i>	<i>Singhapikrami</i>
151	9	most reverend	Most Reverend
156	18	whenev.r	whenever
157	15	inscriptin	inscription
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160	12	third category	fourth category
161	7	blacksmiths	locksmiths
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189	9	the prior to	prior to the
191	2	copid	copied

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